

CURRENT HISTORY



OUR FOREIGN POLICY—*A Full Exposition*

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POLAND'S NEW CONSTITUTION

BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC IN SIBERIA

BULGARIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN

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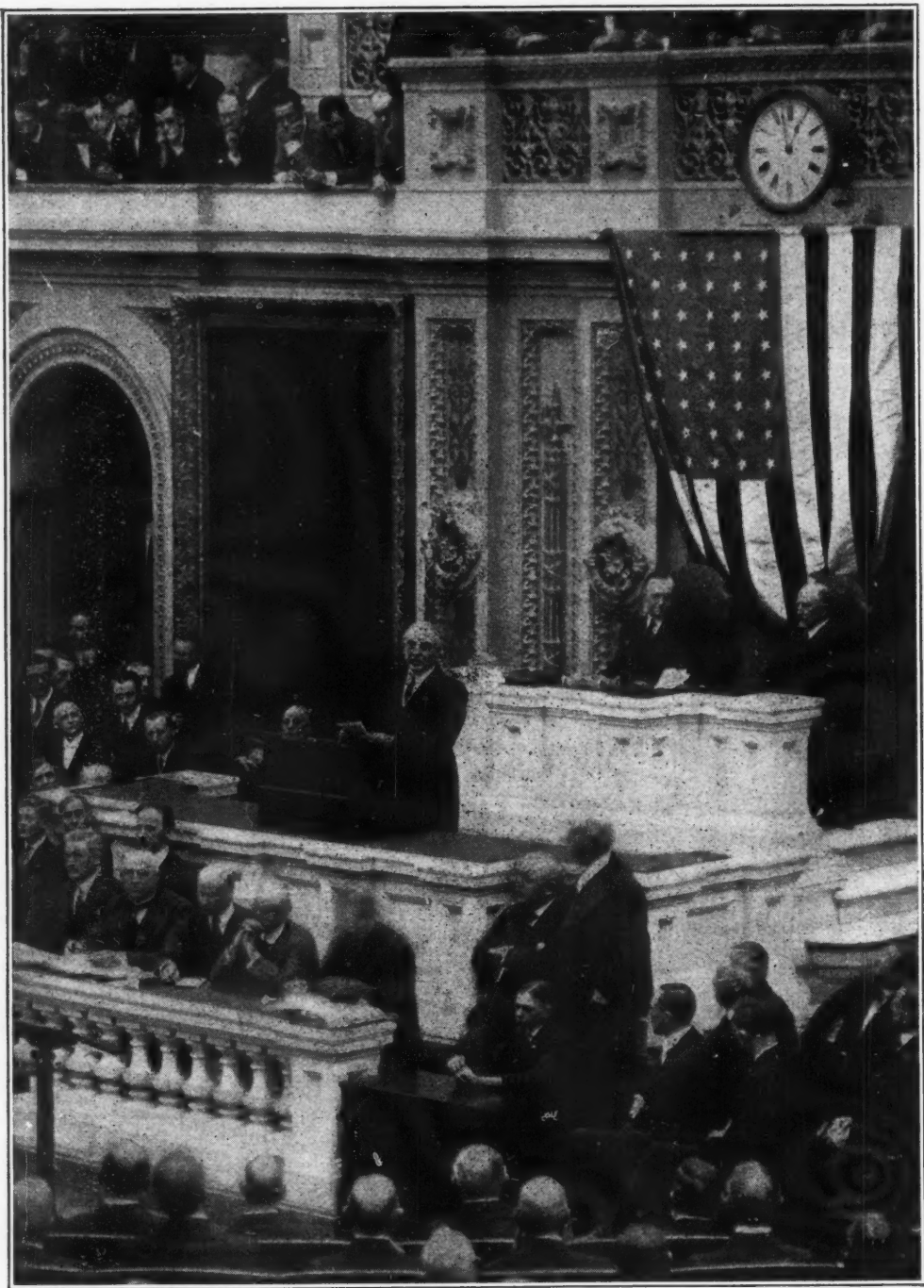
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COLONEL GEORGE HARVEY

United States Ambassador to Great Britain, succeeding Mr. John W. Davis



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PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERING HIS FIRST MESSAGE BEFORE THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 12, 1921. BEHIND HIM ARE SEATED VICE PRESIDENT COOLIDGE (LEFT) AND SPEAKER GILLETT



FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

Soviet Russia rebuffed—Germany's responsibility toward Mandates—League of Nations rejected—State of war with Germany to cease—Revised treaty to be negotiated

AMONG the problems inherited by the Harding Administration few involved a severer tax on statesmanship than those bearing on foreign relations. Grave questions were at issue with Russia, Japan and Great Britain; the United States was still technically at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary; its exact attitude remained to be defined toward a host of issues springing from the World War.

The Russian Soviet Government on March 20 sent to the United States Government a formal appeal for the conclusion of a trade compact by negotiation. From the point of view of the Soviet authorities the message was adroitly timed. It was an attempt to break down American hostility to the re-opening of relations by an appeal to the new Administration, which, it was assumed, might be readily inclined to reverse the policy of its predecessor. Moreover, it was thought that the ratification by Great Britain of the trade treaty negotiated by Leonid Krassin and Lloyd George would favorably influence President Harding.

The text of the Russian note follows:

Reval, March 21, 1921.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND
HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT HARDING, WASHINGTON:

I have the honor to transmit, as instructed by my Government, the following message.

LITVINOV, Plenipotentiary,
Representative of Russian Republic to Esthonia.

March 20, 1921.

From the first days of her existence Soviet Russia had nourished the hope of the possibility of a speedy establishment of friendly relations with the great Republic of North America and had firmly expected that intimate and solid ties would be created between the two republics to the greater advantage of both. At the time when the Entente Powers had begun their invasion of Soviet Russia unprovoked and without declaration of war the Soviet Government repeatedly addressed itself to the American Government with the proposal to adopt measures for the cessation of bloodshed. Even when the American troops, together with the

others, participated in the attack upon Soviet Russia the Government of the Russian Republic still expressed the hope of a speedy change of America's policy toward her, and demonstrated this by its particularly considerate treatment of the Americans in Russia. But President Wilson, who, without cause and without any declaration of war, had attacked the Russian Republic, showed during his whole administration a growing hostility towards the Russian Republic. Soviet Russia hopes that the American Republic will not persist in obdurately following this path and that the new American Government will clearly see the great advantage for the two republics of the re-establishment of business relations and will consider the interests of both peoples which imperatively demand that the wall existing between them should be removed. The Soviet Republic, entirely absorbed in the work of internal reconstruction and of building up its economic life, has not the intention of intervening in the internal affairs of America, and the All Russian Central Executive Committee makes herewith a categorical declaration to this effect. At the present time, after Soviet Russia has concluded treaties and established regular relations with numerous States, the absence of such relations with America seems to Soviet Russia particularly abnormal and harmful to both peoples. The All Russian Central Executive Committee addresses to you the formal proposal of opening trade relations between Russia and America, and for that purpose the relations between the two republics have to be on the whole regularized.

The All Russian Central Executive Committee therefore proposes to send a special delegation to America which will negotiate upon this matter with the American Government in order to solve the question of business relations and of resumption of trade between Russia and America.

M. KALENIN,

President of the All Russian Executive Committee.

P. ZALUTSKY, Secretary.

REPLY FROM WASHINGTON

Secretary of State Hughes on March 25 sent by cable to the American Consul at Reval, for transmission by him to Litvinov, the following reply:

The Government of the United States views

with deep sympathy and grave concern the plight of the people of Russia and desires to aid by every appropriate means in promoting proper opportunities through which commerce can be established upon a sound basis. It is manifest to this Government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate. It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established. Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract and the rights of free labor.

If fundamental changes are contemplated, involving due regard for the protection of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this Government will be glad to have convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes, and until this evidence is supplied this Government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations.

This reply by the new American administration was an obvious rebuff, and was accepted as such by the Bolshevik leaders. One comment made by Jaan Antonovitch Behrein, Soviet Minister to Finland since the conclusion of Moscow's treaty with Finland, declared that, undiscouraged by this rejection, his Government would continue its efforts for trade with America. It was planned to secure the support of prominent American business men desirous of concessions. New overtures would be made officially whenever it became apparent that the attitude of the American Government had undergone a change. Whatever came, he declared, Russia would never give up communism and revert to the old system of private property.

Leonid Krassin, the Bolshevik envoy at London, expressed confidence that as soon as America became convinced that "the very existence of the Russian Soviet Republic is not propaganda, we will be able to establish relations to the mutual interest."

So confident had the Russian authorities been of the success of their overtures that, it was reported, large quantities of Russian gold were in transit to the United States to cover expected trade transactions. This was said to be in the form of gold ingots,

stamped with the official seal of the Swedish Mint.

Raymond T. Baker, Director of the Mint of the United States, upon hearing of the gold shipment, stated that the policy of the United States Mint and Assay Offices had undergone no change. Gold stamped with the seal of the Mint of any friendly country could not be rejected, but Russian gold would still be refused.

The reply of Secretary Hughes to the Soviet proposal was hailed in Paris with gratification.

VIVIANI'S MISSION

An event of importance in its bearing on our foreign relations with the official visit to this country—as Envoy Extraordinary of France—of René Viviani, ex-Premier, who reached New York, March 28. The ostensible purpose of his visit was to present his country's respects to President Harding. Developments indicated that M. Viviani was deeply concerned on behalf of his Government in securing the moral support of this country in the matter of the German reparations. It was also apparent that he viewed with apprehension the prospect that the United States might make a separate peace with Germany. Evidence was given that France would view with gratification this country's ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with almost any modifications and reservations that it might think proper, and that, in any event, our co-operation was earnestly desired in the effort to bring Europe out of the chaos that the World War had produced. He met with a warm reception and his views were given careful consideration, but the policy of the Administration with respect to foreign affairs had been formulated before his arrival and his visit effected no apparent change.

GERMANY

Immediately preceding the arrival of M. Viviani a note was dispatched by Secretary Hughes on March 29 to the American Commissioner in Berlin to be communicated to Dr. Walter Simons, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs. The note was in the nature of a reply to an informal memorandum of Dr. Simons, which had been telegraphed to the State Department by the

American Commissioner, Loring Dresel, under date of March 23.

Secretary Hughes's note follows:

The American Government is pleased to note in the informal memorandum of Dr. Simons the unequivocal expression on the part of the German Government of its desire to afford reparation up to the limit of German ability to pay. This Government stands with the Governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible. The recognition of this obligation, implied in the memorandum of Dr. Simons, seems to the Government of the United States the only sound basis on which can be built a firm and just peace, under which the various nations of Europe can achieve once more economic independence and stability. This Government believes that it recognizes in the memorandum of Dr. Simons a sincere desire on the part of the German Government to reopen negotiations with the Allies on a new basis, and hopes that such negotiations, once resumed, may lead to a prompt settlement which will at the same time satisfy the just claims of the Allies and permit Germany hopefully to renew its productive activities.

The important parts of the German memorandum which elicited this reply are herewith given:

It is the earnest desire of the Government of Germany to reach an accord with the governments of the allied and associated powers, and it is sincere in its purpose to meet their requirements as far as possible. That an agreement was not reached at the Conference of London on the question of reparations is a matter of extreme regret to the Government of Germany. In their effort to reach an agreement the delegates from Germany went far beyond the limits considered possible for Germany, in the judgment of an overwhelming majority of her economic experts.

It has been asserted that Germany is reluctant to recognize her obligation to make reparations. This is not correct. It is entirely clear, not only to the Government of Germany but to the German people also, that Germany must make reparation to the limit of her ability to pay. This realization on the part of Germany will not be altered in any way by any changes which may take place in the internal politics of the country. Every responsible group, particularly the workmen, of Germany are imbued with the determination to do all that lies in their power to help in reconstructing the regions which have been devastated. Fundamental to this determination is the sober conviction on the part of responsible circles in Germany that an early removal of all traces of the devastation caused in France is to the best interest of Germany. It is the consensus of opinion, also, that the proposals made by Ger-

many in regard to reparations must consider fully the financial necessities of the allied and associated governments, and particularly of France.

At this point arguments were introduced relative to some methods of reparation that had been proposed. Complaint was made against France for not accepting Germany's offer to reconstruct the devastated regions of Northern France with German labor and materials. Attempt was made to show that the establishment of an actual sum of cash money in foreign exchange of important proportions would only be possible for Germany by an increase in exports that would menace the economic life of other countries. That her former opponents should participate in the returns from German industry was pronounced not feasible, because the proceeds would be in paper marks, valueless to foreign creditors. Therefore, the note concluded:

An international loan, in favor of which the allied and associated governments would waive their general mortgage, constitutes the only solution of the problem. The Government of Germany is prepared to offer the necessary securities for the safety of such a loan. It is the opinion of the German Government that if the loan were properly organized and offered, and if those who have evaded taxation be granted a general amnesty, the large sums of German capital which have been secretly withdrawn from Germany could again be drawn in for the loan and thereby become available for the reparations. It has been reiterated by the allied and associated governments that the situation of Germany is better than that of many of the allied and associated countries, due to the fact that Germany has no foreign debts. Germany would not be unwilling to assume the obligation of the interest and the amortization of the foreign debts of the allied and associated powers, within the limit of her capacity, should this measure be entertained by the allied and associated Governments and their creditors.

Germany stands ready to meet any proposal which appears feasible for the solution of the economic and financial problems of Europe, and would invite the examination by unbiased experts of its own ability to make payment. It is the opinion of Germany that the heavy weight of debt now borne by all the States which were participants in the World War, and the damages which were wrought in the course of that war, cannot be laid upon the shoulders of any single people. Germany believes also that a policy of duress and coercion will not bring about the reconstruction of international economic life, and that only by way of peaceful discussion and understanding can such reconstruction be

obtained. The German Government considers it important to give, with solemn emphasis, the assurance that for its part it is honestly willing to follow the path which it has suggested.

SIMONS.

The note of Secretary Hughes was received with unqualified satisfaction by the allied Governments, by whom it was regarded as greatly strengthening the pressure that could be brought to bear upon Germany to fulfill the reparations demands. Conversely, it produced depression in Germany, which had clung to the hope that the United States would either assume a neutral attitude or aid materially in persuading the Allies to modify their requirements.

PROTEST AGAINST THE YAP MANDATE

What may prove to be an epoch-making document, defining as it does the attitude of the United States on the whole subject of mandates, was the note addressed by the United States Secretary of State to Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan on April 2. The note to Japan contained additional paragraphs referring to previous correspondence between the two Governments. This was not made public. The note to the other powers follows:

April 2, 1921.

With respect to the mandate to Japan, purporting to have been confirmed and defined in its terms by the Council of the League of Nations, of the German possessions in the Pacific Ocean, lying north of the equator, this Government deems it appropriate to state the fundamental basis of its representations and the principles which, in its view, are determinative.

It will not be questioned that the right to dispose of the overseas possessions of Germany was acquired only through the victory of the allied and associated powers, and it is also believed that there is no disposition on the part of the British Government to deny the participation of the United States in that victory. It would seem to follow necessarily that the right accruing to the allied and associated powers through the common victory is shared by the United States and that there could be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany, now under consideration, without the assent of the United States. This Government must therefore point out that, as the United States has never vested either the Supreme Council or the League of Nations with any authority to bind the United States or to act on its behalf, there has been no opportunity for any decision which could be deemed to affect the rights of the United States. It may also be observed that the

right accruing to the United States through the victory in which it has participated could not be regarded as in any way ceded or surrendered to Japan, or to other nations, except by treaty, and that no such treaty has been made.

The fact that the United States has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles cannot detract from rights which the United States had already acquired, and it is hardly necessary to suggest that a treaty to which the United States is not a party could not affect these rights. But it should be noted that the Treaty of Versailles did not purport to secure to Japan or to any other nations any right in the overseas possessions of Germany, save as an equal right therein should be secured to the United States. On the contrary, Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles provides: "Germany renounces in favor of the principal allied and associated powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions." It will not be questioned that one of the "principal allied and associated powers" in whose favor Germany renounces her rights and titles is the United States. Thus, not only could the position of the Government of Japan derive no strength from the Treaty of Versailles or from any discussions preliminary thereto, but the terms of that treaty confirm the position of the Government of the United States.

Further, the draft convention relating to the mandate for the German concessions in the Pacific Ocean, north of the equator, which was subsequently proposed, proceeded in the same view, purporting on behalf of the United States as one of the grantors to confer the mandate upon Japan, thus recognizing the right and interest of the United States and the fact that the proposed action could not be effective without the agreement of the United States as one of the principal allied and associated powers.

As the United States did not enter into this convention, or into any treaty, relating to the subject, this Government is unable to understand upon what grounds it was thereafter attempted to confer the mandate without the agreement of the United States. It is manifest that the League of Nations was without any authority to bind the United States, and that the confirmation of the mandate in question, and the definition of its terms, by the Council of the League of Nations in December, 1920, cannot be regarded as having efficacy with respect to the United States.

It should be noted that this mandate not only recites Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, to the effect that "Germany renounced in favor of the principal allied and associated powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein the groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, lying north of the equator," but also recites that "the principal allied and associated powers agreed that in accordance with Article 22, Part I (Covenant of the League of Nations), of the said treaty, a mandate

should be conferred upon His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, to administer the said islands and have proposed that the mandate should be formulated "as set forth. While this last quoted recital, as has already been pointed out in previous communications by this Government, is inaccurate in its terms, inasmuch as the United States as one of the



(Wide World Photos)

RENE VIVIANI

Special Envoy from the French Republic to the United States

principal allied and associated powers had not so agreed and proposed, the recital again recognizes the necessity of the participation of the United States in order to make the proposed disposition effective.

As, in the absence of any treaty with the United States relating to the matter, there was no decision of May 7, 1919, binding the United States, it is deemed to be unnecessary again to examine the brief minute of the meeting of the Supreme Council on that date. It may, however, be proper to say that the minute of this meeting, although obviously without any finality, could not properly be construed without due regard to the other proceedings of the Supreme Council and without taking account of the reservations which President Wilson had already made in the previous meetings of the Supreme Council on April 21, April 30 and May 1, 1919. The attitude of President Wilson is sufficiently shown by the following statement which he made to the Department of State on March 3, 1921:

"I beg to return the note received yesterday from the Japanese Government, which I have read, in relation to the proposed mandate covering the Island of Yap.

"My first information of a contention

that the so-called decision of May 7, 1919, by the Council of Four assigned to Japan a mandate for the Island of Yap, was conveyed to me by Mr. Norman Davis in October last. I then informed him that I had never consented to the assignment of the Island of Yap to Japan.

"I had not previously given particular attention to the wording of the Council's minutes of May 7, 1919, which were only recently called to my attention. I had, on several occasions prior to the date mentioned, made specific reservations regarding the Island of Yap, and had taken the position that it should not be assigned under mandate to any one power but should be internationalized for cable purposes. I assumed that this position would be duly considered in connection with the settlement of the cable question and that it therefore was no longer a matter for consideration in connection with the peace negotiations. I never abandoned or modified this position in respect to the Island of Yap, and I did not agree, on May 7, 1919, or at any other time, that the Island of Yap should be included in the assignment of mandates to Japan.

"As a matter of fact, all agreements arrived at regarding the assignment of mandates were conditional upon a subsequent agreement being reached as to the specific terms of the mandates, and further, upon their acceptance by each of the principal allied and associated powers. The consent of the United States is essential both as to assignments of mandates and the terms and provisions of the mandates, after agreement as to their assignment or allocation.

"The consent of the United States, as you know, has never been given on either point, as to the Island of Yap."

Apart from the expressed purpose of President Wilson in relation to the Island of Yap, inasmuch as the proceedings of the Supreme Council on May 7, 1919, did not, and in the nature of things could not, have finality, this Government is unable to perceive any ground for the contention that it was the duty of this Government to make immediate protest with respect to the so-called decision of May 7, 1919, and certainly it cannot be said that an omission to do so operated as a cession of its rights. It may be added, however, that when the matter was brought to the attention of this Government in connection with the Conference on Communications in October last, this Government informed the Government of Great Britain and other Governments (by notes of Nov. 9, 1920) that it was the understanding of this Government that the Island of Yap was not included in the action of May 7, 1919. Its position was subsequently stated at length.

It is a cause of regret to this Government, that after and despite this protest, there should have been any attempt to pass upon drafts of mandates purporting to deal with the Pacific Islands including Yap, and that a mandate should have been approved, or attempted to be put into effect, which, while

purporting to be made in the name of the United States, was without the assent of the United States. This Government trusts that this action, which it must assume was taken under a misapprehension, will be reconsidered.

In particular as no treaty has ever been concluded with the United States relating to the Island of Yap, and as no one has ever been authorized to cede or surrender the right or interest of the United States in the island, this Government must insist that it has not lost its right or interest as it existed prior to any action of the Supreme Council or of the League of Nations, and cannot recognize the allocation of the island or the validity of the mandate to Japan.

This Government, as has been clearly stated in previous communications, seeks no exclusive interest in the Island of Yap, and has no desire to secure any privileges without having similar privileges accorded to other Powers, including, of course, Japan, and relying upon the sense of justice of the British Government and of the Governments of the other allied and associated powers, this Government looks with confidence to a disposition of the matter whereby the just interests of all may be properly conserved.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE BEFORE THE NOTE

Prior to the dispatch of the latest note of the United States State Department on the subject of the Yap mandate, a statement had been issued by the Foreign Office at Tokio on March 25 which, while avoiding the real crux of the American protest—exclusive control by Japan of cable communications—set forth the views of the Japanese Government on Yap and the other islands allotted to Japan by mandate. It was in part as follows:

In accordance with the Supreme Council's resolution in 1919 and the fixing by the League of Nations Council of the terms of the mandate in December of last year, Japan is now preparing a suitable administrative organ for promoting the moral and material happiness and the social progress of the inhabitants, and will shortly abolish the military administration. Recent rumors about fortifications and naval activity are entirely unfounded, and it is very regrettable that newspapers publish such fabrications. There is apparently a tendency to exaggerate the economic and strategic value of the islands and to attach undue importance to Japan's occupation, but the total area is less than that of Rhode Island.

Economically the islands are scarcely worth mentioning, and strategically they are unimportant, because Japan, true to the spirit of mandatory rule, has disavowed any

intention to establish military or naval bases and fortifications. The Island of Yap is one-third of Guam's area, while its harbor will barely accommodate three small steamers. Except for its cable facilities Yap is worthless and barren soil in mid-ocean.

One might as well say America controlled the Atlantic through the purchase of the Virgin Islands as to say that by means of the Mandate Islands Japan staked out a set area of 4,000,000 square miles from Kamchatka to the South Pacific. There have been certain changes in the administrative posts owing to climatic and communication considerations, but rumors of strategic preparations are groundless.

THE FRENCH REPLY

A reply from France to Secretary Hughes's note on Yap, made public on April 14, stated that, as the Washington communication had gone to the four allied Governments, France would not formally reply until after the next meeting of the allied Premiers. While withholding a distinct pledge to adopt the American viewpoint, the tone of the note was friendly. Significance was attached to the statement in the note that the Japanese Government had official knowledge of the American reservation on Yap. The part of the note bearing on this point read as follows:

Already, as your Excellency is aware, the Government of the Republic has done all that it could do to give in this matter aid to the American Government. In the note of Feb. 18, after having stated that the decision of May 7, 1919, did not admit of any restriction so far as the mandate attributed to Japan in the islands of the North Pacific was concerned, my department submitted to your Embassy that President Wilson and Mr. Lansing had nevertheless, during a previous meeting, formulated, in the presence of the representative of Japan, categorical reservations on the subject of the Island of Yap, that Baron Makino did not refuse to allow the question raised by the United States to be brought under discussion, and that in consequence the Japanese Government had cognizance of the American reservations. The note concluded that there was therein a basis for renewal of the conversations between the United States and Japan which the Government of the Republic would be happy to see lead to a satisfactory result.

It was stated that a preliminary reply had been received by the State Department from Great Britain on April 11, but up to April 15 had not been made public.

On April 12, the day after the convening of the Sixty-seventh Congress in special session, President Harding in the House of

Representatives read his message to the assembled members of the Senate and the House. In it he enunciated his domestic and foreign policy. Regarding the latter, he advocated ending the state of war with Germany by Congressional resolution; rejected the League of Nations, but committed his Administration to a plan of co-operation with foreign Governments for the rehabilitation of Europe, and to the formation of a non-political association of nations.

The President indicated that the Versailles Treaty, minus the League covenant and modified by reservation or otherwise, so as to preserve the United States from commitments to action that might be considered embarrassing, if this could be done, would be resubmitted to the Senate. He made it clear that this Government would stand with the Allies in compelling Germany to live up to her treaty obligations, and would assist them also, in carrying out economic measures covered by the Versailles Treaty, even where America was not directly concerned in those measures.

PRESIDENT HARDING'S MESSAGE

The essential parts of the President's address dealing with foreign relations follow:

In the existing League of Nations, world governing with its super-powers, this Republic will have no part. There can be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general; and to our associates in war in particular, that the League covenant can have no sanction by us.

The aim to associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a committal to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority.

Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making it the enforcing agency of the victors of the war. International association for permanent peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yesterday, and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by any such association so long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the attainment of the special aims of any nation or group of nations.

The American aspiration, indeed, the world aspiration, was an association of nations, based upon the application of justice and right, binding us in conference and co-operation for the prevention of war and pointing the way to a higher civilization and international fraternity in which all the world might share. In rejecting the league covenant and uttering that rejection to our own people, and to the world, we make no surrender of our hope and aim for an association to promote peace in which we would most heartily join. We wish it to be conceived in peace and dedicated to peace, and will relinquish no effort to bring the nations of the world into such fellowship, not in the surrender of national sovereignty but rejoicing in a nobler exercise of it in the advancement of human activities, amid the compensations of peaceful achievement.

In the national referendum to which I have adverted we pledged our efforts toward such association, and the pledge will be faithfully kept. In the plight of policy and performance, we told the American people we meant to seek an early establishment of peace. The United States alone among the allied and associated powers continues in a technical state of war against the Central Powers of Europe. This anomalous condition, ought not to be permitted to continue.

To establish the state of technical peace without further delay, I should approve a declaratory resolution by Congress to that effect, with the qualifications essential to protect all our rights. Such action would be the simplest keeping of faith with ourselves, and could in no sense be construed as a desertion of those with whom we shared our sacrifices in war, for these powers are already at peace.

Such a resolution should undertake to do no more than thus to declare the state of peace, which all America craves. It must add no difficulty in effecting, with just reparations, the restoration for which all Europe yearns, and upon which the world's recovery must be founded. Neither former enemy nor ally can mistake America's position, because our attitude as to responsibility for the war and the necessity for just reparations already has had formal and very earnest expression.

It would be unwise to undertake to make a statement of future policy with respect to European affairs in such a declaration of a state of peace. In correcting the failure of the Executive, in negotiating the most important treaty in the history of the nation, to recognize the constitutional powers of the Senate we would go to the other extreme, equally objectionable, if Congress or the Senate should assume the function of the Executive. Our highest duty is the preservation of the constituted powers of each, and the promotion of the spirit of co-operation so essential to our common welfare.

It would be idle to declare for separate treaties of peace with the Central Powers on the assumption that these alone would be

adequate, because the situation is so involved that our peace engagements can not ignore the Old World relationship and the settlements already effected, nor is it desirable to do so in preserving our own rights and contracting our future relationships.

The wiser course would seem to be the acceptance of the confirmation of our rights and interests as already provided and to engage under the existing treaty, assuming, of course, that this can be satisfactorily accomplished by such explicit reservations and modifications as will secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests.

With the super-governing League definitely rejected, and with the world so well informed, and with the status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationships so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuits of peace once more. Our obligations in effecting European tranquillity, because of war's involvements, are not less impelling than our part in the war itself. This restoration must be wrought before the human procession can go onward again. We can be helpful because we are moved by no hatreds and harbor no fears. Helpfulness does not mean entanglement, and participation in economic adjustments does not mean sponsorship for treaty commitments which do not concern us and in which we will have no part.

THE KNOX PEACE RESOLUTION

The day following the President's declaration of foreign policy, Senator Knox of Pennsylvania offered in the Senate his resolution declaring the war between the United State and the Teutonic powers at an end. It has been revised to meet the President's views, and was merely a declaratory announcement of the ending of the war, with a provision for preserving all the rights obtained by the United States under the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, and the Versailles Treaty.

The revised resolution read as follows:

That the joint resolution of Congress, passed April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end:

Provided, however, that all property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and all of the German nationals, which was, on April 6, 1917, or has since that date come into possession or under

the control of the Government of the United States or any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore, or specifically hereafter be provided by Congress, until such time as the German Government has, by a treaty with the United States, ratification whereof is to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made suitable provisions for the satisfaction of all claims against the German Government of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States and who have suffered, through the acts of the German Government or its agents since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, American, or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war, or otherwise, and also provisions granting to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States, most favored nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nationals, and waiving any and all pecuniary claims based on events which concurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 2. That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, reserves all of the rights, powers, claims, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages to which its nationals have become entitled, including the right to enforce the same under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit or to which it is entitled as one of the principal allied and associated powers.

Section 3. That the joint resolution of Congress approved Dec. 7, 1917, "declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States are making provisions to prosecute the same," be and the same is hereby repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Convening of Sixty-seventh Congress—Aid for veterans—Army promotions—Supreme Court decisions—Railroad problems—Emergency Tariff Bill—Decline in prices—New Ambassadors—Prohibition enforcement—President Harding's message

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

A SPECIAL board was appointed by President Harding on March 29 to map out plans to aid American veterans disabled in the World War and to provide

for the dependents of men killed in the conflict. It was announced at the White House that the committee, composed of nine men and two women, would investigate the War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Board for Vocational Training and make recommendations not only regarding the conduct of these activities but looking into the general scheme of caring for ex-service men. The plan was to have the committee make suggestions which the President could submit to Congress as the basis for future legislation.

The committee was headed by General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago and included among its members the former and present Commanders of the American Legion, Franklin D'Olier and Colonel F. W. Galbraith Jr. The women members were Mrs. Douglas Robinson and Mrs. Henry R. Rea.

* * *

THE appointment of twelve new Major Generals was approved by the President, April 13, on the recommendation of Secretary Weeks. The list was

headed by Brig. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards. Others included were Big. Gens.

James W. McAndrews, John L. Hines, Henry T. Allen, David C. Shanks, Adelbert Cronkhite, William M. Wright, George W. Read, Charles H. Muir, Charles T. Menoher, William G. Haan and George Bell Jr.

In order to promote General Edwards it was necessary to strike the name of some other officer from the list of Major Generals nominated by former President Wilson, and whose appointments were held up by the Senate so as to afford the new Administration an opportunity to deal with the question. Secretary Weeks recommended that the name of Brig. Gen. Omar

Bundy, now commanding the Seventh Corps area with headquarters at Fort Crook, Neb., be eliminated.

General Edwards commanded the Twenty-sixth (New England) Division in France, and has for several years been the ranking Brigadier General in the army. He has been a Brigadier General since 1912, a period of more than eight years, during which one officer after another had been promoted over his head to be Major General.

Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, commander of the First American Army in the World War, retired, on March 21, as an active army officer after forty-two years of service. He was popularly credited with having directed the master stroke of the Americans in the war, and had the official distinction of having commanded the largest mobile fighting unit in the history of the world.

As a Lieutenant General he was in charge of 1,200,000 men, including five French divisions, and 5,000 field pieces. With this force, in October, 1918, he launched the great drive on the armies of the Crown Prince in the Argonne. He ended his overseas duty as commander of the Third Army, which marched into Germany, following the cessation of hostilities, returning to America in July, 1919, to resume his post as commander of the Western Department. He is 64 years old.

* * *

SECRETARY WEEKS announced on April 1 that the War Department had ordered 200 pursuit planes and thirty-five bombing planes for use by the American Army. He explained that

these were the first purchases of aircraft made for the army since the war, and that the purpose was to provide army fliers with machines for their practice work. The 200 pursuit planes will be of the Morse-Thomas type and represent a contract price of \$1,400,000. They will not be equipped

AIRPLANES
FOR ARMY

with Liberty motors because they are not suited for that type of engine. The bombing planes will be of the Marlin type, and will be equipped with Liberty motors to be furnished by the army, which has a considerable surplus stock on hand.

* * *

IT was announced in Washington on March 16 that the Harding Administration had decided that the official honors to the American unknown soldier would be held

UNKNOWN
SOLDIER
BURIAL

on Nov. 11, 1921, the third anniversary of Armistice Day, at the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va.

On that occasion the unknown soldier will be buried with the highest official honors in the presence of President Harding, Secretary Weeks, Secretary Denby, members of the Diplomatic Corps and, in all probability, representatives from the principal foreign nations. There are about 1,600 American soldiers who gave their lives for their country and whose identity has not been established.

* * *

STATISTICS made available April 10 by the railway executives showed that the roads of the United States suffered a deficit of \$7,205,000 in February, with 106 of the 200 lines reporting to the

RAILWAY
DEFICIT
INCREASED

Interstate Commerce Commission failing to earn their expenses and taxes. In January the deficit was \$1,167,-

800, and 109 of the 200 roads failed to make expenses and taxes. The 200 roads reporting in February represented a mileage of 235,362. Forty-six were in the Eastern district, sixteen in the Southern district and forty-four in the Western district. It was stated by the executives that, as a result of the deficit shown, the carriers fell short by \$63,804,000 of earning the amount it was estimated they would earn, under the rates fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, in accordance with the provisions of the Transportation act of 1920.

Abrogation of the national agreements, defining the working conditions on all railroads of the country formerly under Federal control, was ordered by the Railroad Labor Board, in a decision issued on April 14.

The order of abrogation was made effective July 1, 1921, and in the meantime the officers and system organization of employers were called on by the board to confer and decide so much of the dispute relating to rules and working conditions as might be possible for them to decide. Such conferences were to begin at the earliest possible date. The board was to be kept informed of final agreements or disagreements, to the end that it might know prior to July 1 what portion of the disputes had been decided. The board reserved the right to stay the termination of its direction to a date beyond July 1, if it should have reason to believe that any carrier was unduly delaying the progress of the negotiations.

The decision meant that disputes about rules and working conditions were automatically referred back to conferences between each road and its employees. This plan had been urged by the railroads, while the labor leaders favored a national conference between representatives of all roads and all unions.

The board approved the principle of the eight-hour day, but believed it should be limited to work requiring practically continuous application during eight hours. Eight hours' work for eight hours' pay was enjoined. The right of seniority was upheld, as well as the right of employees to negotiate through representatives of their own choosing. Espionage by both sides was condemned.

* * *

SECRETARY OF WAR WEEKS stated on March 1 that work had just begun on the removal to this country of the soldier dead from the great American cemetery

RETURN OF
AMERICAN
DEAD

at Romagne, France, where lie the bodies of 22,000 American soldiers who fell in the Argonne.

The shipment of the bodies will be expedited as far as is humanly possible, and will be delayed only by adverse weather conditions.

The latest official figures showed that in all there were 75,882 dead overseas, of whom 13,616 had been returned. Requests had been received to allow 19,681 bodies to rest permanently abroad, but this number was constantly changing. Definite instructions had been received regarding 50,040 bodies, and there were 25,842 dead whose

final resting place had not been definitely decided.

* * *

THE United States Supreme Court on April 11 affirmed a decree of the Texas District Court enjoining the City of San Antonio from enforcing a 5-cent fare with

SUPREME COURT universal transfers over the lines of the San Antonio Public Service Company. In its ap-

peal the city had asserted that its franchise contract with the railroad called for service at 5 cents, and that the courts were without jurisdiction to interfere.

Injunctions obtained by the City of Fairfield, Iowa, in lower courts, restraining the Iowa Electric Company from increasing its rates above those set in its franchise also were set aside by the Supreme Court. The Court held that a contract calling for a "confiscatory rate" would not stand in law.

* * *

THE Sixty-seventh Congress convened in extraordinary session at noon on April 11, and, after short sessions, at which no business of importance was transacted ex-

cept the choice in the House of Speaker Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts to succeed himself—by a vote of

MEETING OF SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS 298 as against 122 for Claude Kitchin of North Carolina—adjourned to the following day.

On April 12 President Harding in the House of Representatives delivered his message to a joint session of the Senate and the House. The portion of the message that dealt with foreign relations is treated elsewhere in this issue.

The greater part of the address was devoted to domestic affairs. The President called for retrenchment in expenditures, a prompt and thorough readjustment of internal taxes, emergency tariff legislation, the repeal of the excess profits tax, protection for agricultural interests and the mature consideration of permanent tariff legislation. He also advocated the adoption of a national budget system. Congress was urged to take up the problem of the high cost of living. Railway rates and cost of operation, the President said, must be reduced. He gave notice that the United

States meant to establish and maintain a great merchant marine. The encouragement of aviation was stressed, and the establishment of a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Navy Department recommended.

* * *

A TEMPORARY settlement of the differences between the big meat packing concerns and their employes was reached on March 23, after a conference of representatives of both sides

TRUCE IN PACKING HOUSE CONTROVERSY with Secretaries Davis, Hoover and Wallace. The settlement was in the nature of a com-

promise, each side making concessions. The basic eight-hour day and overtime rates were restored. Wage cuts of 8 cents an hour for hourly workers and 12½ per cent. for all piece workers were to remain in effect as of the dates announced by the packers, and were not to be subject to any further arbitration. The agreement of Dec. 25, 1917, and extensions thereof and all decisions thereunder (except as modified by the March 23 decisions) were to remain in effect until Sept. 15, 1921, at which time the agreement was to terminate. President Harding on March 24 received a visit from the representatives of the packers and their employes, accompanied by the Secretaries who had taken part in the conference, and expressed personally his gratification over the peaceable settlement of the dispute.

* * *

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD and seventy-nine other Industrial Workers of the World who were convicted before Federal Judge Landis at Chicago in 1918 of attempting to obstruct

I. W. W. MEMBERS the Government's MUST SERVE prosecution of the TERMS war were returned to Federal prison as a re-

sult of the refusal of the Supreme Court, April 11, to review their convictions. Haywood, a former secretary of the I. W. W., and fourteen others were sentenced to twenty years each and fined sums ranging from \$20,000 to \$35,000. They and others had been sent to the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., but subsequently were released on bail bonds aggregating \$500,000, pending the outcome of their appeals.

In appealing to the Supreme Court from decisions of the Circuit Court of Appeals,

sustaining their convictions, the men had argued that the principal evidence used against them in their trials was illegally obtained in that it was seized by Federal agents during a raid without search warrants or other court orders.

* * *

THE Emergency Tariff bill, combining the farmers' tariff measure, vetoed by President Wilson, with the Anti-Dumping bill, was passed by the House on April 15 by a vote of 269 to 112.

EMERGENCY This first legislative act
TARIFF BILL of the special session was
PASSED accomplished by an almost united Republican

vote. All efforts on the part of the Democrats under Representative Garner of Texas to force through amendments were rejected. Mr. Garner's motion to recommit the bill and strike out the section dealing with the difference of exchange rates was defeated by a vote of 265 to 118.

* * *

JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, on April 12 announced a reduction in steel prices ranging from \$1.50 to as much as \$15 a ton for tin plate. The reduction was to take place immediately.

The decreases, however, were confined to certain products. It was stated that a reduction on tubular and sheets would be announced later, as the adjustment in regard to these products had not yet been definitely decided upon. No statement was made as to whether there would be a reduction in wages following the decrease in prices.

* * *

BRADSTREET'S approximate index number of ninety-six staple commodities, as of April 1, was reported on April 7 as 113,749, which marked a decline of 4.1 per cent from March 1, of 45 per cent. from April 1 a year ago, and of 45.4 per cent. from the peak point of Feb. 1, 1920. Compared with the level of prices on Dec. 1, 1918, just after the armistice, the price index was 40 per cent. lower. Every group but one of the thirteen classes of commodities declined during March, the sole exception being fruits. Oils, building materials, naval stores and coal and coke showed the

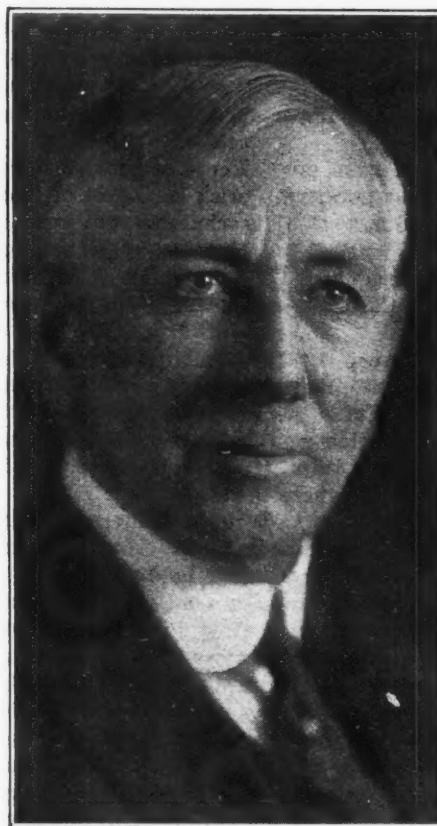
largest percentages of decline in March. The changes in prices from March 1 to April 1 showed thirteen products advancing and forty unchanged, while fifty-three declined.

* * *

IT was stated in Washington March 24 that all American diplomatic missions had been notified by the State Department that they must dismiss all non-American

AMERICAN The full Americanization
EMBASSIES TO of embassies had
DROP FOREIGNERS been provided for in the last diplomatic ap-

propriation measure, which stipulated that salary expenditures from the contingent fund should be only for American employees. With the growth of the domestic service there had been a gradual increase in the number of translators and clerks of foreign nationality, and during the war the num-



(© Harris & Ewing)

D. R. CRISSINGER
New Controller of the Currency

ber increased rapidly, especially in European capitals.

* * *

PRESIDENT HARDING on April 14 sent to the Senate the nomination of Colonel George Harvey of New Jersey to be Ambassador to Great Britain and of Myron T. Herrick of Ohio

NOMINATION OF AMBASSADORS to be Ambassador to France. The nominations were confirmed by the Senate; nineteen Democratic Senators and one Republican (Norris) voted against confirming Colonel Harvey.

* * *

AMONG important nominations sent to the Senate by the President on April 14 were those of ex-Representative Esch of Wisconsin to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner; George H.

OTHER NOMINATIONS Carter of Iowa to be Public Printer; Hubert Work of Colorado to be First Assistant Postmaster General; William D. Riter to be Assistant Attorney General; Edward F. Finney of Kansas to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and Thomas E. Robertson of Maryland to be Commissioner of Patents. They were confirmed.

On March 26 James C. Davis of Iowa, general counsel of the Railroad Administration, was named as Director General of Railroads to succeed John Barton Payne.

* * *

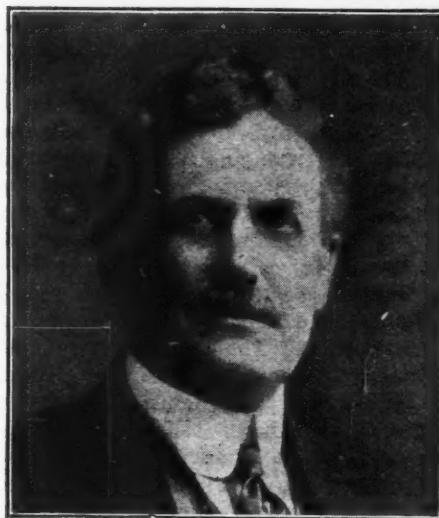
AMAZING revelations of the graft, corruption and terrorism responsible for throttling the building industry in Chicago were made on March 27 before the Joint

GRAFT AND TERRORISM IN BUILDING Investigating Legislative Committee. The exposures closely paralleled those uncovered at a similar inquiry in New York. The Federal Government and the county and municipal authorities had representatives at the hearing, and it was said that all of these forces would be combined to crush the criminal rings whose machinations were revealed.

One man who had built more than a thousand houses and bungalows, building them honestly and selling them at what he considered a fair profit, testified that he was finally bankrupted and driven from the city because he would not add \$1,000 to

the price. After testifying he hurried out of the city, fearing vengeance at the hands of the hired tools of the combination.

Testimony was given that graft entered into every building transaction, from the minute the first spadeful of dirt was removed until the building was turned over



MYRON T. HERRICK
New American Ambassador to the French Republic

to the owners. It was said that graft averaged 35 per cent. of the cost of the structure and ran into many thousands of dollars. The Legislative Committee was told that this plunder was collected by four men, one building contractor and three union business agents, and that disbursements were made by them to the smaller members of the ring.

* * *

GOV. MILLER of New York on April 4 signed measures providing for enforcement by municipal authorities of the prohibition amendment and the Volstead act.

Of the three bills
NEW YORK STATE "DRY" BILLS signed, one provided for the repeal of the 3½ per cent. beer and light wine bill, enacted last year, as well as the Raines law with all its amendments, and the city local option law, and defined as intoxicating all beverages containing one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol, or in excess of that proportion. Another added a new section to the Criminal Code,

charging local authorities with the enforcement of the prohibition law. A third amended the civil rights law by providing for the recovery of damages suffered by reason of selling or giving away intoxicating liquor. The enforcement plan in general followed that embodied in the Volstead act.

* * *

A BILL providing for the use of lethal gas in executing the death penalty in Nevada was signed on March 28 by Governor Boyle. Hitherto, condemned men have

<p style="text-align: center;">GAS FOR DEATH PENALTY</p>	<p>had the choice between hanging and shooting. Nevada is the first State of the Union to make use of gas as a means of capital</p>
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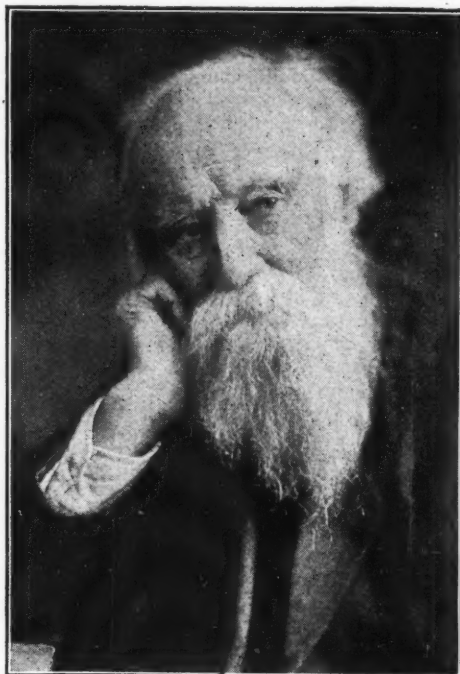
punishment. Under the new law it was provided that the death warrant must designate the week within which the execution must take place. The week must not be less than sixty nor more than ninety days after the date of the judgment. The law provides for a suitable cell for inflicting the penalty. The warden, a competent physician and six men must witness the execution. The cell is intended to be airtight, fitted with windows of thick glass and equipped with valves to admit air when wanted. It is planned that when the condemned man is asleep, the air valves shall be closed and others admitting lethal gas be opened, life being taken without the prisoner awakening.

* * *

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, the most eminent prelate of the Catholic Church in America, died at Baltimore, Md., March 24, at the age of 86. He was born

DEATH OF
CARDINAL GIBBONS
AND
JOHN BURROUGHS

in Baltimore in 1834 and received his early education in Ireland, where he was taken by his parents. He entered the priesthood in 1861 and rose steadily through various ranks until in 1872 he was made Bishop of Richmond, Va. In 1877 he became Archbishop of Baltimore. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination as a priest he was invested with the insignia of a Cardinal at the cathedral in Baltimore, June



(© Harris & Ewing)

JOHN BURROUGHS

Famous nature lover, essayist and thinker, who died March 29, 1921

30, 1886. For many years he was a prominent figure in American life. His ability as an organizer and executive was remarkable, and his personal qualities won him general respect and esteem.

John Burroughs, world-renowned naturalist, died suddenly March 29 on a railroad train while returning to his home, Riverby, New York. He was one of the best-known and best-loved men in America and figured largely in the intellectual life of the nation. He loved the great outdoors and had a more intimate knowledge of the nature of birds and animals than probably any man since Audubon. Supreme as a naturalist, he also held high rank in the world of letters. In 1917 the American Academy of Arts and Letters awarded him its medal for distinguished achievements in literature. He was buried on April 3, the day on which, if he had lived, he would have reached his eighty-fourth birthday.

SECRET PACTS OF FRANCE AND ITALY WITH TURKEY

BY GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY

Director of the Armenia America Society

AT a time when France is protesting against a separate treaty between the United States and Germany she has not hesitated to abandon her allies, her fellow-signatories in the Treaty of Sèvres, and to make a separate treaty with the Nationalist Turks. The astonishing thing about this secret treaty is that it was agreed upon at the very time that France was uniting with the other Premiers in making certain joint proposals to the Turks with respect to modifications of the Sèvres Treaty already signed. The Turks replied to this joint proposal that they would have to consult their Government at Angora. Instead, then, of standing by her fellow-signatories to the Treaty of Sèvres, France has agreed to other changes in that treaty, and has proceeded to carry out certain parts of it without waiting for the Turks to carry out their part, or even to reply to the joint proposals.

This independent action on the part of France, aside from the aspect of treachery toward her allies, is important from an international standpoint, because it means a restoration to the Turkish domination of the Christians who, after the armistice, were encouraged to settle in Cilicia with the expectation of its becoming an Armenian home. George Picot, for instance, was appointed High Commissioner of Syria and Armenia. It was General Gouraud who changed the title to High Commissioner of Syria and Cilicia. Also, when Colonel Bremond was sent out to be Military Governor of Cilicia, he went as head of the "Commission for Armenia."

The separate treaties made by both France and Italy have international importance, also, because they restore Turkey to her old place as a factor of division among the powers, quite in the spirit of the nineteenth century diplomacy, and thus open up the way to another world war.

The separate treaty with France, printed below, surrenders to Turkey portions of Northern Syria which the Treaty of Sèvres set apart as Arab territory, and establishes

a boundary entirely different from that previously determined. The boundaries outlined by President Wilson are not involved in these changes, although his award was involved in the joint proposals made by the conference of Premiers last month. The agreement entered into by France makes practically futile the joint proposals of the conference of Premiers presented at about the same time. [See Page 347.] The agreement is signed by Briand, the French Premier, and by Bekir Samy, delegate of the Grand National Assembly at Angora, acting in the name of the National Turkish Government.

There are twelve points in the agreement, lettered from A to L, as follows:

A.—Cessation of hostilities and exchange of prisoners, according to the terms of the attached annex.

B.—Disarmament of the populations and of the armed bands in accordance with regulations to be made by the French and Turkish military authorities.

C.—Establishment of a constabulary (making use of the gendarmerie already formed) under Turkish command, assisted by French officers, who will be placed at the disposition of the Turkish Government.

D.—In accordance with measures to be agreed upon by the French and Turkish military authorities, there will be evacuation at the expiration of one month (after the cessation of hostilities) of the territories occupied by the armed troops north of the frontiers established by the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turkish troops are first to retire and then eight days after the evacuation will occupy the localities evacuated by the French troops. Provisional measures will be taken with respect to the evacuation of territories assigned to Syria by the Treaty of Sèvres and reincorporated in the Turkish State by the present agreement, on account of ethnic considerations.

Because of the condition of protracted war, and of the deep-rooted confusion which has resulted from it, the French troops will withdraw gradually, according to stipulations to be determined by the French and Turkish authorities, in a joint commission, on the following general basis: Effective pacification, guarantee of safe communication by railway between the Euphrates River and the Gulf of Alexandretta, the restoration of construction in the Amanus Mountains and at the Bridge of Djerablous, the right of military pursuit in case

of attack by bands, the punishment of those guilty of the ambush at Urfa.

E.—Complete political amnesty and maintenance in their activities of the administrative personnel in Cilicia.

F.—Pledge to protect the ethnic minorities, to guarantee to them absolute equality of rights in every respect and to have regard in an equitable way to the proportions of the populations for the purpose of establishing an equilibrium in the districts where the populations are mixed, when the establishment of the constabulary is undertaken and when the municipal administrations are formed.

G.—Economic collaboration between the French and Turks, with the right of priority in respect to concessions to be granted for the exploitation and for the economic development of Cilicia in the districts evacuated by the French troops, as well as in the vilayets of Mamurt-el-Aziz, Diarbekr and Sivas, in so far as such exploitation shall not be carried out directly by the Ottoman Government or by Ottoman subjects with the assistance of national funds.

Concession to a French group in the Argana copper mines.

Concessions which involve monopolies or privileges shall be exploited by companies that are established under the Ottoman law.

The widest possible association of Ottoman and French capital (extending to 50 per cent. of Ottoman capital).

H.—Establishment of proper customs regulations between the Turkish and Syrian territories.

I.—Maintenance of French educational institutions and hospitals and of philanthropic organizations.

J.—The French Government will establish a special administration for the District of Alexandretta where the populations are mixed, and agrees to give to the inhabitants who are of the Turkish race every facility for the development of their culture and for the employment of the Turkish language, which will have an official character on a parity with the Arabic and French languages.

K.—Transfer to a French group of the section of the Bagdad Railroad which extends from the Cilician Gates to the Syrian frontier.

Every effort will be made to facilitate in every respect the use of the railroad by both Turks and French for economic and military purposes.

L.—The frontier between Turkey and Syria will start from a point to be chosen on the Gulf of Alexandretta, immediately south of Payas, and will extend in a straight line toward Meidan Ekbes, the railroad station and the town being assigned to Syria.

Thence the boundary will turn southeast in such a way as to leave to Syria the town of Marsova, and to Turkey the town of Karnaba, as well as the City of Kilis.

Thence the frontier meets the railroad at the station of Chotenbeg. From there the frontier will follow the Bagdad Railroad, whose roadbed will remain in Ottoman territory as far as Nissibin.

Thence the frontier will go to the bend of the

Euphrates north of Azekh and will follow the Euphrates as far as Djeziret-Ibin-Omar.

The Turkish line of custom houses will be established north of the railway and the French line of custom houses to the south.

ANNEXES

Article I.—While awaiting the prompt conclusion of a more general agreement between the high contracting parties, all active military operations will be entirely stopped on the Cilician front and on the confines between Turkey and Syria, as soon as orders to this effect shall have been received by the respective troops, the orders to be given by the French authorities as well as by the authorities at Angora at latest within a period of one week.

In order to hasten this suspension of hostilities the commanders of the French and Turkish military units will, as soon as they shall have been informed, impart to the hostile forces that may be opposed to them the fact of the signature of the present agreement and of the suspension of operations.

Article II.—As soon as the urgent instructions to be given by the two high contracting parties shall have been received, the prisoners on both sides, as well as any French or Turkish individuals imprisoned because of the hostilities, shall be set at liberty and conducted at the expense of the party who had taken the captives to the advance posts or else to the nearest city which may be designated. Exception will be made only for those infractors of the common law whose cases shall be reserved for a joint examination.

Article III.—The present agreement is made without limitation as to duration, and the resumption of hostilities may not take place on either side excepting after a formal declaration one month in advance. During the suspension of hostilities the parties pledge themselves to refrain from reinforcing their troops and from any dispositions that would tend to better their respective positions. The only transportations of a military sort that are authorized shall be the normal replacements as well as those necessary for the provisioning and the maintenance of troops.

Done at London in duplicate, March 9, 1921.

ITALY'S PACT WITH THE KEMALIST TURKS

Not only France, but also Italy, it was revealed early in April, had concluded a secret pact with the Turkish Nationalists while Greece was fighting in Anatolia to enforce the terms of the Sèvres Treaty signed by all the Allies in common. This agreement between Rome and Angora, it now appears, was arranged between Count Sforza and Bekir Samy Bey, representing Kemal, during the London conference in March. The pact itself was signed on March 12. Count Sforza on April 2 officially informed the Italian Chamber of the

signing of this treaty, and explained the objects sought to be attained. The following week the British Government instructed its Minister at Rome to ascertain what the provisions of this secretly concluded compact were. The salient points of the treaty, finally published in Rome on April 7, and summarized in Paris on April 12, were as follows:

1. The two Governments at Angora and Rome have in view Italian-Turkish economic collaboration with the right of priority for concessions of an economic character to be accorded in the Sandjaks of Adalia, Meugia, Bourdour and Sparta and in part of the Sandjaks of Afiun, Karahissar and Kutahia, which will be determined when the accord becomes definite, as well as in the coal basin of Heraclea, so far as the above-mentioned should not be directly given by the Ottoman Government to Ottoman subjects with Ottoman capital.

2. When the concessions contain privileges or monopoly they shall be exploited by societies formed according to Ottoman law.

3. Ottoman capital shall be assisted as largely as possible with Italian capital. Ottoman participation may reach 50 per cent. of the total.

4. The Royal Government of Italy pledges itself to support effectively in relations to its allies all demands of the Turkish delegation relative to the Peace Treaty, and especially restitution to Turkey of Smyrna and Thrace.

5. This part of the agreement involves the withdrawal of Italian troops which still remain in Ottoman territory.

6. The foregoing disposition will come into effect as a result of a convention to be concluded between the two contracting parties im-

mediately after the conclusion of peace assuring Turkey a free and independent existence.

On April 2, Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, gave in the Rome Chamber a comprehensive account of the Near East Conference and of the German Conference which followed. In regard to the former he said—and this is most important, as it has not been imparted by any other statesman of the Entente:

The first proposal for a Commission of Inquiry in Thrace and Smyrna, conditionally accepted by the Turks and rejected emphatically by the Greeks, could not be imposed with force, and therefore another solution was required. It consists of fresh proposals made on March 12 concerning which the Turks showed themselves well disposed, and the Angora delegates promised to refer the matter to their National Assembly. The Greeks will refer the matter to Athens. The proposal is for a partial revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. [Here the Count paraphrased the proposals of the Allies.]

I desired to reach an agreement with the Turkish delegates on our own economic action in Anatolia and the Heraclea mining basin, and it was understood that the policy of the Italian Government was to proceed in perfect harmony and co-operation with the Turkish authorities.

I was able, happily, to conclude an agreement, signed on the evening of March 12, by which a vast zone in Asia Minor is open specially to Italian economic penetration without any political aims, and I have secured the sincere and cordial co-operation of Turkey, which is convinced of the honest and loyal intentions of Italy.

SCOTLAND'S HOUSING CRISIS

AT the close of 1920 Scotland, with a population far less than that of New York City, found that it had to provide 131,000 houses for its residents. State aid for housing resulted. By the end of February contracts had been let to construct 19,137 houses, to cost \$70,265,000 at the present exchange rate; 15,787 brick, 1,438 stone, 700 brick and stone, 552 concrete and 600 timber houses. J. L. Jack, Director of Housing under the Scottish Board of Health, speaking before the Government Committee of Inquiry at Edinburgh, reported these facts:

That although land was cheaper than it

was five years ago, the Government's State-aid project had inflated land values.

That contractors in many instances profited at the Government's—and thus at the house builder's—expense.

That materials had increased in cost 25 per cent. since 1919.

That under the Government's three-year housing-aid project, labor was loafing on the job, thus greatly increasing the costs of construction.

A census of the shortage was taken through local authorities. The Valuation Department of the Inland Revenue got \$738,150 subtracted from inflated land prices. Contractors were induced to lower their charges by amounts ranging from \$200 to \$585 a house.

FORCING RELUCTANT GERMANY TO PAY

England, France and Belgium levy a 50 per cent. duty on all German goods coming into those countries—France to seize the Ruhr Basin if Germany does not pay indemnity—Total amount of the indemnity payments

REPARATION by Germany to the Allies was an acute question in England, France and Germany during the month. Though the Allies failed, at the London Reparations Conference, to come to any agreement with the German delegates regarding indemnity payments, they agreed among themselves in adopting a novel substitute measure. It was a scheme devised by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Austen Chamberlain to levy an import tax of 50 per cent. ad valorem on all German goods when they entered any of the chief allied countries, under an arrangement by which Germany was to be forced to pay this tax. Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium all agreed to the plan, and it was understood that the sums collected should be pooled and divided as German indemnity money. Each country was to formulate and pass the necessary tariff law. Lloyd George's idea was that if Germany consented to play the game, reimbursing her exporters, it would produce some of the cash which the conference had failed to produce, whereas, if she refused, the measure would have a punitive effect.

The British Premier and his Chancellor of the Exchequer led the way by introducing in Parliament, on March 11, a full-fledged measure for this purpose, entitled "The German Reparation (Recovery) bill." It was officially described as a measure "for the application of part of the purchase price of imported German goods toward the discharge of the obligations of Germany under the Treaty of Versailles." It provided all the necessary machinery for fixing values, varying contracts, settling disputes, and empowering Parliament to suspend the operation of the act when it should see fit to do so.

The bill required all importers of German goods to pay over to the Commissioner of Customs a certain percentage (not to exceed 50 per cent.) of the total value of the goods consigned; they were to receive in ex-

change an official receipt exempting them from the payment of this amount to the German consignors, and the latter were expected to look to their Government for reimbursement. M. Briand's understanding, as he told the Chamber when introducing a similar bill in France, was that all the receipts were to be pooled and divided by the allied nations concerned; Mr. Lloyd George's idea, however, as he explained to Parliament under fire from many hostile critics, was that Great Britain should keep all its own receipts under the law until the British share of the indemnity, which was 22 per cent., had been liquidated.

The bill advanced by stormy stages until it became a law at the third reading on March 18 by a vote of 215 to 132. It went into effect on March 31. The law was opposed bitterly by the business interests, whose representatives likened it to a stick thrust into the works of a clock. Members of Parliament had pointed out that its practical result would be to saddle a new and heavy tariff tax upon the British public. Dr. Simons, the German chief delegate, had declared to the allied Ministers that such a tax meant one of two things—either that the German exporters would add this amount to their price, which would mean that the consumer would eventually pay it, or that German trade would go to the wall.

After the British bill was on its way through Parliament he told the Reichstag at Berlin: "This action on the part of the Allies we regard as the greatest and most fateful mistake which could have been made in the efforts to further the restoration of the economic position of Europe." Lord Robert Cecil, speaking in the British Parliament on March 16, said that he hoped the bill was really a penalty bill and not a bill for collecting the indemnity; he could conceive no more disastrous way of levying the indemnity than that they should keep

alive for thirty or forty-two years a special tax on German imports.

Nobody showed any enthusiasm for the idea except Lloyd George, who defended it at every turn and forced it through to a final vote. The general impression was that the British Premier's purpose was to use the new law as a cudgel to persuade Germany to come to some reasonable terms in regard to indemnity payments. The following rhymes in *The Manchester Guardian* expressed the view of one element of the population:

In matters of commerce the fault of the British
Is being a little too headlong and skittish—
Free Trade was their settled and wedded affection,
But now they elope with the maddest Protection.

Protectionist Allies like Belgium and France
Hold back and regard the proposal askance,
Preferring indemnities paid by the raiders
And not by their own and unfortunate traders.
So Britain, poor Britain, alone sets the pace
In cutting her nose off to spite her own face,
And a measure that no one imagines will last
By Lords and by Commons is solemnly passed,
Whereby to a kind Coalition's content
We clap on boche exports just 50 per cent.—

Fifty per cent, 50 per cent,

Fifty per cent. from the Alleyman's shelves—
And if any one pays it we pay it ourselves.

The other Allies showed various degrees of reluctance in adopting the scheme. When Premier Briand introduced a bill for that purpose in the Chamber, on March 21, it was viewed askance by many Deputies. The Temps expressed the fear that it would only weaken Germany's means of paying. On April 1, however, Premier Millerand delivered a yet more staggering blow of this kind by signing a decree raising the tariff on goods imported from Germany in various degrees up to 100 and even 300 per cent. On April 14 the Chamber adopted the 50 per cent. tariff bill on German imports by a vote of 383 to 79. The Belgian Parliament passed the 50 per cent. tax on March 23 by a vote of 128 to 19. The Finance Minister obtained its passage solely on the ground of its necessity to punish Germany for bad faith regarding indemnities. In Italy the subject was a sore one, for Italian importers were doing a rushing business in imports from Germany—in fact, in a single day of March 25,000 registered parcels from Germany accumulated at the Custom House at Chiasso, and forty inspectors were unable to handle the business. Count Sforza,

who had consented to the idea at London, found it a delicate matter to handle when he reached home; at last accounts Italy and Japan had taken no action.

The new allied customs collections in the Rhineland became effective April 20. A 25 per cent. German tariff in gold is collectible at the eastern frontier of the Rhineland on westbound merchandise, while on eastbound merchandise from the occupied into the unoccupied area the duty is 25 per cent., payable in paper money. The Interallied Rhineland Commission has the power to change the regulations as it sees fit. Evaders of the customs regulations will be prosecuted in courts set up by the commission, and will be subject to a fine of 500,000 marks or imprisonment for five years.

The keynote of all debates in France during the month, also of the utterances of political leaders and influential newspapers, was, "Germany must pay." Toward the end of April the fact was semi-officially announced that unless Germany showed a practical and actual disposition to make the payment of 12,000,000,000 marks on May 1, 1921, which sum the Allies contend is their due, the French Government would seize the whole Ruhr industrial and mining region and levy a heavy tax on its exports. Marshal Foch announced, on April 15, that he would require 200,000 troops for the task; this will necessitate calling to the colors the classes of 1918 and 1919, thus increasing the French Army by 450,000 men.

The sentiment in France for drastic action has been at fever heat since early in March, when the feeling became general that Germany was seeking to evade payment. The Chamber of Deputies was roused to the utmost fervor on March 16 by the brilliant and effective speech of M. Briand, the Premier, explaining the results of the London conference. That conference had ended in a deadlock, the Germans refusing to comply with the allied demands for reparation, as a consequence of which refusal a new interallied occupation of the Rhine district had ensued. Some parts of the Premier's speech brought the entire house to its feet, amid wild storms of applause and approval. M. Briand reviewed the reasons for the failure of the London discussion and for the occupation. The Allies, he said, now controlled the greater

part of the transport of coal. He explained that the application of the customs sanction would produce a common fund, which would be divided according to the percentages of the Spa agreement.

Taking up then the question of reparations, he drew an effective picture of the wealthy German profiteers who were storing up vast profits, while by the purchase of newspapers and all the arts of propaganda they were pleading Germany's poverty to the world. If this continued, declared M. Briand, the day would come when Germany would attempt in the economic sphere those imperialistic conquests which she had failed to make in the military domain. Her assertions that she could not pay what was being demanded could not be trusted. She had no foreign debt, her taxes were less heavy than those of France, and her economic situation superior. At Spa she declared she could deliver only 800,000 tons of coal. Threatened by penalties, she delivered nearly 2,000,000 tons. Dr. Simons in London, before the final break, had similarly named a low figure for the payment for the first five years, but on receiving an ultimatum had discovered new resources, and had actually come to the very figures of the Allies. Since the final German answer to the Allies' whole plan was a refusal, both parties now faced the execution of the Versailles Treaty by means which it was for the Allies to decide. The Chamber would have to make its own decisions on the steps to be taken, and would be informed by the Premier of events as they occurred.

By this speech M. Briand scored another of his many spectacular successes since he assumed the Premiership. The full extent of this success was seen on the following day (March 17), when the three days' debate ended. By a vote of 491 against 68 the Chamber gave M. Briand its confidence. A notable feature of the last day's debate was the participation of former War Minister Lefèvre, who proposed that the Allies should reserve the right of perpetual inspection and control of the manufacture of munitions by Germany. To this M. Briand replied that no provision was made for permanent control in the Versailles Treaty, and by that treaty the Allies must abide.

The comments of the press showed that all in all M. Briand was solidly backed by

the Government and the people in his determination to force Germany to pay, even at the cost of an extended occupation of German territory. One paper pointed out that the German banks and the large industrial owners were colossally rich, and that the Prussian landlords had immense reserves of real property, from all three of which sources Germany could find funds to pay for the consequences of the war. The Temps declared that M. Briand had showed the Germans that their real enemies were in Germany herself, and constituted "those persons, many of whom wished to bring about the war, and many of whom have profited by it."

Through the rest of March and during the first half of April the Allies were perfecting their plans to force matters with Germany to an issue. In the course of the debate in the French Chamber, on April 12, M. Briand declared: "The time for words has passed. We must now revert to acts." The first application of the penalties, he said, had not produced the desired result, and Germany still showed a disposition to evade payment.

On May 1 [the Premier continued] Germany will be face to face with a whole series of violations of the treaty which she signed. I repeat here, with all the strength at my command, that we creditors hold a perfectly legal deed. A process server has been dispatched to Germany, and if our debtor persists in refusal to pay, the next next time a policeman will accompany him.

This process is a legal proceeding as between individuals in everyday life, and it is the same in relations between nations. It is no use to begin over again discussions already closed. We have in hand a promissory note duly signed, and if the debtor refuses to pay we must coerce him by all means of coercion we have in our power.

In full agreement with our Allies we have a rendezvous with Germany on May 1. France shall not fail that rendezvous.

Germany must pay, declared the French financial experts. M. de Lasteyrie, official reporter of the Finance Committee of the Chamber, pointed out that Germany had paid only 3,000,000,000 francs reparations, although she claimed to have paid 21,000,000,000—a figure which she reached by including the value of the war material left behind by the German Army when it retreated—and concluded: "France must be paid. If Germany refuses France must go in herself and exact payment. It is a ques-

tion of life or death." This declaration was applauded by the entire House.

It was taken as a confirmation and supplement to a similar statement embodied in the report of M. Chéron, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, distributed among the Senators shortly before. In this report M. Chéron had declared, on the basis of official facts and figures, that unless Germany paid the fiscal problem of the French Government was insoluble. France, said the report, must find 58,000,000,000 francs this year, and her revenue was estimated at 22,000,000,000. She was carrying a deficit of 38,000,000,000 already spent on the prospects of German payment, and 16,000,000,000 additional was carried in this year's budget to the same account. No alternatives or palliatives could be effective. Germany must pay or French finances faced a disastrous impasse. M. Chéron pointed out that in the figures above quoted had not been included the costs of pensions for 1,500,000 mutilated soldiers and 700,000 widows, who still remained to be provided for.

Although the report of the Bank of France showed that during the year 1920 the general economic situation gave some hope for the future, in view of an improvement during that year in respect to trade balance, agricultural production and transportation, the figures given by M. Lasteyrie and M. Chéron were inexorable, showing as they did that financially France was facing a crisis.

The Commission on Reparations, meanwhile, completed its hearings in Paris of the German experts on German resources, and announced on April 12 that the final bill would be presented to Berlin on April 30, one day before the expiration of the time limit fixed by the Versailles Treaty.

It was announced April 15 that the Reparations Commission had set the German indebtedness on the reparation account at a figure between 130,000,000,000 and 150,000,000,000 gold marks, which if carried in instalments over a period of thirty years would mean, with interest, between 340,000,000,000 and 400,000,000,000 marks gold. As to Germany's ability to pay, the Reparations Commission on April 12 gave out the following figures:

The German internal debt is 1,178 marks paper a head; that of France 5,353 francs paper a head. The external debt of Germany is 40 marks paper a head, and France 2,102 francs paper a head. This means that Germany's external debt is practically nothing.

France is paying taxes at the rate of 548 francs a head; Germany 478 marks a head. On a gold basis, the Frenchman is paying five times the taxes the German does.

The Reparations Commission's information shows that the German railroads, with 40 per cent. less traffic than before the war, have 300,000 more employes, and the commission estimates that the German Government could save 2,000,000,000 marks annually in the operation of the railroads if it wished to.

The prosperity of Germany is evidenced by the fact that bank deposits in 1920 increased 50 per cent. over those of the preceding year. The commission estimates that in 1922 Germany will have available 3,800,000 tons of shipping, not counting ships flying neutral flags but owned by German firms. In the last year German companies have increased their capital 400,000,000 marks. Dividends of 20 to 100 per cent. are common, although often camouflaged in accounting.

The disarray of the German Government's affairs—a disarray which the French charge is largely intentional—causes budget expenditures of 110,000,000,000 marks, with revenues of only 40,000,000,000. The Reparations Commission estimates that the German wealth of 350,000,000,000 marks before the war has not materially decreased.



GERMANY CRUSHES COMMUNIST REVOLT

Labor denounces the uprising—Allies again refuse to discuss German disarmament or to grant extension of time for indemnity payments—United States refuses to grant an easement—Upper Silesian plebiscite goes against Poland

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

TAKING a cue from reactionary Bavaria's defiant rejection of the disarmament law enacted by the Reichstag on March 19, in compliance with the Allies' insistence upon fulfillment of the Treaty of Versailles, the leaders of the extreme Communists, acting, as alleged, under instructions from Moscow, launched a revolutionary movement in the industrial districts of Middle Germany. From March 20, when the general strike began in the Halle section, until the final skirmish there, on April 2, between communists and security police, according to semi-official estimates, about 50 policemen and some 500 rioters were killed, 50 policemen and several hundred of their opponents seriously wounded, and about 3,700 individuals arrested, charged with complicity in the plot to overthrow the German Republic.

The outcome of the uprising was a disappointment both to the communist leaders and to the junker reactionaries. The former hoped to rally the German proletariat to their red banner with the slogan of "Let's join Soviet Russia!" The junker reactionaries were waiting for a chance to "come to the rescue" of the Government with their more or less secret military organizations, to slaughter the rebellious workers by the wholesale, and then seize the reins of government in the interest of the monarchists and big business. Both extremes were disconcerted by the action of the Central Government, which refused to use the regular army or to ask for the help of the "Orgesch," and allowed Herr Severing, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, and Herr Hörsing, President of the Province of Saxony, both Majority Socialists, to restore order with the military police. This moderation deprived the extreme commu-

nists of the sympathy and possible aid of the masses of their own party and of the Independent and Majority Socialists. The revolt, consequently, was suppressed without wholesale blood-letting. About all the reactionary press could do was to clamor for vengeance upon the rebels and point with pride to the calm that had obtained in Bavaria, due, according to the junkers, to the strength there of the "Orgesch."

Taking note of the spread of "wild strikes" and an epidemic of lawlessness in the Halle district, Herr Hörsing issued a proclamation to the workers there on March 16, pointing out that industry was being so hampered by the irresponsible acts of the "Committees of Action," elected in place of the regular Shop Councils, that he was about to send strong detachments of police to preserve order. Thereupon the communist press of all Germany, led by Die Rote Fahne of Berlin, covered him and his supporters with insults, and declared he was merely a tool of the reactionaries seeking to pave the way for the arrival of the "Orgesch." It called upon the workers to imitate Dr. von Kahr, the Bavarian Premier, i.e., to laugh the law to scorn, to arm themselves and to effect a union with Soviet Russia, even over the body of the German bourgeoisie. Belated confiscation of the issues of Die Rote Fahne containing especially violent appeals only caused that paper to increase the bitterness of its language. In this it was outdone only by the organ of the Communist Labor Party, speaking for the small group of intransigents that regards the United Communist Party as a half-hearted organization little better than the Majority Socialists.

Preceded by an attempt to blow up the Column of Victory in Berlin on March 13,

the anniversary of the reactionary Kapp revolt of 1920, and by the arrest of several communists charged with complicity in widespread plots to destroy public buildings in leading German cities, a general strike was called on March 20 in the industrial district surrounding Halle. This turned into armed rebellion the next day, following a fatal clash between security police and strikers. At first the strikers were able to seize the big Leuna chemical plants and to dominate the situation in Eisleben, Merseburg and Mansfeld. Meanwhile, by sympathetic outbreaks in Hamburg, the strikers tried to keep possession of the big shipbuilding plants of the Vulkan Company, Krupps and Blohm and Voss, as well as of the municipal buildings, over which they hoisted the red flag. But the police dislodged them after losing about a score killed and many more wounded. Elsewhere the response to the communist call for action consisted merely of scattering attacks with bombs upon public buildings in Leipzig, Freiburg, Plauen, Rodewisch, Dresden, Auerbach and some other towns. In Berlin attempts to call out the workers were foiled by the hostile attitude of the men themselves and the vigilance of the security police.

Prompt action by the Prussian authorities, aided by the proclamation of a modified state of siege by President Ebert and a declaration by the Executive Committee of the General German Trade Union League denouncing the uprising soon enabled the security police to gain the upper hand in all centres of rebellion and to oust the communists from their control of strategic places in the Halle district. In the last days of March, when order had been restored in Middle Germany, there was a flicker of revolution in the West. This resulted in strikes and scattering attacks upon the police in Dortmund, Mettmann and Essen. All these uprisings were put down with more or less bloodshed. Finally there was a futile flare-up in Gotha and Erfurt. In the occupied zone the trouble was confined to Meers and Crefeld in the Belgian section, and to a slight disturbance in the American section, quickly quelled by twenty American military policemen. The Belgians crushed the strike in the Crefeld district by arresting 281 of the communist leaders. On April 4 the Berlin police found many

mysterious packages containing high explosives scattered in public and private buildings and along the tracks of the elevated railroad. This was regarded by the authorities as the last effort of the expiring revolt.

After the actual fighting was over the non-communist papers and parties, which had been practically a unit in supporting the Government's suppression of the uprising, immediately divided along their usual lines. The organs of the junkers and the big business interests demanded that the extraordinary courts set up under an order by President Ebert mete out exemplary punishment to the strike leaders. On the other hand, the Socialist and Democratic press warned against setting up a reign of terror, and exhorted the Government to pursue a moderate course which would show the nation and the world that it was strong enough to maintain the republic without resorting to excesses. While several inflictions of the death penalty by the special courts had been reported up to April 15, there was little indication that a policy of "blood and iron" would follow the liquidation of the "putsch" (revolt). Nevertheless *Die Rote Fahne* attacked the courts so fiercely for what it called murder that it was suppressed and its editor charged with high treason.

In attempting to explain the origin of the outbreak, Conservatives, Majority Socialists and even Independent Socialists tended to accuse the communist extremists of having obeyed orders from Moscow, transmitted by George Zinoviev, President of the Third International, to bring about a Soviet revolution in Germany in order to bring cheer to the Russian Communist Government, then threatened by the Kronstadt rebellion. Minister Severing said that he had unimpeachable circumstantial evidence to back up this belief, but the National Government did not allow this statement to interfere with its negotiations for a commercial treaty with Russia, nor was any special effort made to arrest the numerous Soviet agents said to be operating in Germany. The communists, while not denying their intention of setting up a Soviet republic and effecting an alliance with Russia, declared that the revolt had been precipitated by the "provocative" action of the Prussian authorities. These

they accused of being in league with the reactionaries to stamp out the workers' organizations and re-establish the monarchy. Both extremes counted upon the support of the German masses in any kind of attempt to smash the Peace Treaty and escape from the penalties imposed by the Allies, but the common sense of the 8,000,000 trade unionists and the populace in general outweighed their feelings of resentment. It was estimated that not more than 100,000 persons joined in the uprisings.

No definite steps toward enforcing the disarmament law were taken by the German Government. On the other hand, in a note dated March 26, Germany asked the Council of Allied Ambassadors to arbitrate certain questions of disarmament. As President of the Council of Ambassadors, Premier Briand of France answered the German note by saying that all these questions had been settled on Jan. 29 and ordering Germany to carry out the Allies' demands or take the consequences of a refusal.

About the only progress made during the period toward breaking the deadlock between the Allies and Germany over the question of reparation, which had resulted in an extension of the zone of occupation in the Ruhr district early in March, was the exchange of notes between Paris and Berlin. Dr. Walter Simons, the German Foreign Minister, stated in this connection that Germany would make a new offer before May 1, the last day upon which the Reparation Commission may present its final bill to the German Government, according to the terms of the Peace Treaty.

In all the discussion on reparation the German Government laid stress upon its eagerness to help reconstruct the devastated regions of France. On March 21 the French Confederation of Labor announced that it favored the importation of German labor and materials for this work, as otherwise the task would not be finished for many years. Berlin declared on April 7 that an offer of such labor and material would be made before May 1. A bid for American intervention was made by Dr. Simons in a note sent to Secretary of State Hughes on March 23 through Loring Dresel, American Commissioner in Berlin. This note declared that Germany was fully aware of its obligation to "make repara-

tion to the limit of its ability to pay," complained of the alleged harshness of the Allies' methods and suggested an international loan as the only means of placing Germany in a position to get to work and fulfill its obligations. In his reply [printed elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY] Secretary Hughes said that the United States stood with the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the World War and therefore morally bound to make reparation so far as possible.

In the meantime the Allies went ahead with preparations to impose the penalties prescribed for the German failure to accept the terms of the London Conference in March. The limits of the new zone of occupation [sketched in the April number of CURRENT HISTORY] were extended from Duisburg along the railroad to within two and a half miles of Essen, and on April 10 the Interallied High Commission for the Rhineland announced from Mayence that the new allied customs collections would become effective April 20. The tariff line is about 500 kilometers long and just inside the military occupation line. The present German tariff, payable in gold, was to be collected on eastbound and westbound goods crossing the regular Western German frontier. A 25 per cent. German tariff, in gold, was to be levied at the Eastern frontier of the occupied Rhineland on westbound merchandise, while on eastbound goods from the occupied into the unoccupied territory the same duty was to be paid in paper money. This arrangement, calculated to promote business in the occupied zone at the expense of the rest of Germany, may be adjusted by the Interallied Rhineland Commission at will.

Germany protested to the League of Nations against the extension of the zone of occupation, but, as explained by Dr. Da Cunha, President of the League Council at Geneva, the League can take no action unless the initiative is taken by a member nation.

Despite predictions of wholesale bloodshed, the plebiscite held in Upper Silesia on March 20 to show the preference of the inhabitants for Germany or Poland, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, passed off without any violence of importance. It resulted in a vote of 716,408 for Germany and 471,406 for Poland, as announced by

the Interallied Commission on March 22. The presence of some 30,000 British, French and Belgian troops in the district apparently had a quieting effect upon the fiery spirits of the German and Polish agitators.

Although the voting showed a majority of about a quarter of a million for Germany, the Upper Silesian problem was not finally settled by the plebiscite, as, under the Peace Treaty, the Supreme Council of the Allies is not obligated to award the district as a whole to either of the claimants, but may divide it according to the expressed wishes of the residents of the various communes. Consequently there is a possibility that the allied representatives may consider important sections of the rich coal district as entitled to become part of Poland because the majority of their inhabitants voted Polish. In a note covering 500 pages the German Government, on April 7, asked

the allied Governments and the Interallied Commission to award Upper Silesia to Germany as a whole, promising to protect the Polish minority and to give Poland part of the coal from the district. The next day General Le Rond, head of the Interallied Commission, arrived in Paris.

Carl Neuf and Fred Zimmer, the American military detectives who tried to arrest Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, an American draft evader, in Eberbach, Baden, on Jan. 22, were tried in Mosbach, found guilty of "an illegal assumption of power" and sentenced on March 22 to serve fifteen months and six months, respectively.

On April 13 the German Government sent a message to William Hohenzollern, the former Emperor, condoling with him on the death of his wife. [An account of the death of the former Empress is printed elsewhere in this issue.]

WHAT BELGIUM IS DOING

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

PLANs for the reconstruction of Louvain University Library have been accepted by a committee headed by Cardinal Mercier. Whitney Warren, the architect, announced in Paris on April 7 that work would probably begin in July. Across the facade of the new building, in giant letters, is to be a Latin inscription which, translated, reads "Destroyed by German hate and restored by Americans." The library will not be on the old site, but will be erected in the centre of the city.

The Rockefeller Foundation has announced a contribution of 43,000,000 francs toward a budget of 100,000,000 for new buildings and endowments for the medical school of the University of Brussels.

King Albert has informally conveyed to President Harding the information that retention of Brand Whitlock as Ambassador at Brussels would be most pleasing to him and to the people of Belgium. Burgomaster Max of Brussels, it was reported on March 21, would be sent to the United States to congratulate Mr. Harding on his accession to the presidency.

The Belgian Government has accepted the proposal of the League of Nations that the International Bureau for the control of traffic in arms and munitions, established in 1890, shall perform a similar function now. Belgium led the way to disarmament by agreeing on April 11 that her future budgets for armaments shall not exceed the present one. Holland has also notified the League that it intends to adhere to the arms traffic convention.

BELGIAN CONGO—Natives of the equatorial district of the Congo Free State, in a rising in March, burned fifty trading posts. A dispatch from Brussels on April 12 reported that the revolt was fomented by a native pretending to have discovered a charm making its possessors invisible and invulnerable. He sold the charms to credulous natives, whose faith in them was confirmed when troops sent to quiet their excitement fired into the air. The natives became uncontrollable and a widespread use of troops was necessary to restore order. [See also article on Page 283.]

DEATH OF THE GERMAN EX-EMPRESS

IN the little Dutch railway station of Maarn, shrouded in the gloom of an April evening, the ex-Kaiser, surrounded by his sons and their wives and several other members of the Hohenzollern family, bade an eternal farewell to the last remains of her who had been his faithful companion, sharer of his former grandeur and of the sorrows of his downfall, the former Kaiserin Auguste Victoria. The light from a few lamps on the railway embankment, as it fell on the sombre figure of the former monarch, struck out bright gleams from the helmets and swords and gold buttons of the full military uniforms in which the Kaiser and the other Hohenzollerns had garbed themselves for this tragic scene.

This dramatic leave-taking of the ex-Kaiserin's remains was necessitated by political considerations which Holland could not see her way to ignore. After the death of the ex-Kaiserin, which occurred on April 11, 1921, a painful controversy arose over the funeral, of which the German monarchists wished to make capital. The Kaiser, however, and all the Hohenzollern family soon made it clear that they wished no imperial ceremonial. The Dutch authorities, on the other hand, sent word that they could not allow either the former Kaiser or the former Crown Prince to accompany the body to the frontier, as this would have necessitated a special consultation with the allied Governments.

The body of the former Empress lay in state in Doorn Castle until April 16. The Kaiser's chaplain, Dr. Dryander, officiated at a church service in the morning, and funeral services were held at 8 o'clock in a large room decorated with evergreens and palms. The Kaiser, as well as his sons and their wives, showed great emotion during these last solemnities. The funeral procession proceeded from Doorn to Maarn Station in automobiles, one of which, draped with crape, adorned with a large silver cross, carried the body. The cortège arrived at the little station at night, in a darkness relieved only by the feeble rays of a few railway lanterns. First came a huge car filled with flowers. Then the big hearse rolled up, flashing powerful searchlights. From the next car descended Chaplain Dry-

ander in his sable robes. The ex-Kaiser and his daughter, Princess Victoria Luise, and the rest of the Hohenzollern family followed in the other cars making up the cortège. Former German officials, stanch friends of the exiled royal pair and representatives of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, the Dowager Queen and the Prince Consort, together with representatives of the King of Spain and the King of Sweden and a



(Photo Paul Thompson)

THE FORMER GERMAN EMPRESS
as she appeared when visiting the wounded during the war

number of Dutch officials, closed the procession.

In the half light of the station, the familiar figure of the Kaiser, dressed in the full uniform and regalia of a General of the Brandenburg Infantry, with helmet and sword and the military cape of field gray, could be plainly discerned as he stood with the other members of his family, similarly garbed in military uniform. The former Crown Prince was dressed as a General in the Death's Head Hussars. The Duchess of Brunswick and the other Princesses, garbed in unrelieved black, looked like nuns.

When all had collected around the coffin, Dr. Dryander, his voice vibrating with emotion, delivered a brief oration. The ex-Crown Prince and other Princes then lifted the coffin from the big motor hearse and placed it on the train. The pale light

gleamed bizarrely on the purple velvet of the coffin and on the helmets and swords of the German Princes. The ex-Kaiser and Princess Victoria Luise then entered the car to bid farewell to the Hohenzollerns returning to Germany on the funeral train.

The German Government had sent an official message to William condoling with him over his loss. All the sisters of the ex-Kaiser, together with Generals von Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Mackensen, were expected to attend the funeral at Potsdam. Both the former monarch and the Crown Prince returned to Doorn. The latter made a strong plea with the Dutch Government to allow him to go to Potsdam. He was informed that he could not return to Holland if he crossed the frontier. To the former Emperor the prohibition forbidding him to take part in the Potsdam ceremonies was a crowning bitterness in his cup of exile.

HUNGARY'S RESTORATION FIASCO

Attempt of ex-Emperor Charles to remount the Hungarian throne fails for lack of support—Helped by aristocrats and clergy, but opposed by the Farmers' Party and treated with indifference by the masses—A Cabinet crisis

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

AFTER a vain attempt to remount the Hungarian throne in the last week of March, ex-Emperor Charles of Hapsburg returned, a somewhat wiser man, to his place of exile in Switzerland. His sudden appearance in Hungary and his proposed coup d'état were not without dra-

matic features, but he found the Magyar nation, for the time at least, unready and unwilling to accord him all the honors due to the wearer of St. Stephen's hallowed crown.

Charles's appearance in Hungary on March 26 was a distinct surprise, at least



SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORY TRAVERSED BY EX-EMPEROR CHARLES IN HIS TOUR FROM GENEVA TO STEINAMANGER, AT THE TIME OF HIS UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO REGAIN THE HUNGARIAN THRONE

to the rank and file of the Hungarian people. Reports have it that Admiral Horthy, the regent, was equally surprised, and when he was first notified of the presence of the erstwhile monarch, his former commander as the head of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, he disbelieved the news and considered it a joke. Only when the former ruler appeared in person and demanded that he yield supreme power to him was Horthy aware of a grave situation demanding quick action. "I will not dispute your right to the throne," he told Charles; "but you must remember that I was elected Regent of Hungary and will abandon my place only in response to a constitutional act by the National Assembly." Charles pleaded in vain, and was told that he must leave the country immediately.

Speculation is rife as to what prompted Charles to abandon his exile and try his hand at restoration. It has become known that before his departure from Prangins he was in Strassbourg with his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon. There, it is reported, he discussed his return to the throne with leading royalists and militarists of France. He asserts that Premier Briand assured him of non-intervention and that he should go ahead with his plans and the powers would bow to a fait accompli. Praznovsky, the Hungarian Minister at Paris, declares he knows that leading French Generals knew about the coup beforehand and encouraged Charles. General Franchet d'Esperay, who was supreme commander of the Allies' Balkan forces in the war, was frequently referred to in reports as being in sympathy with Charles's plans. Even the name of Grant Smith, American High Commissioner at Budapest, was linked with the plot. However, Premier Briand not only denied all such knowledge, but sent to the Hungarian Government a protest which ultimately caused Charles to leave the country. The suspected French General remains silent, while Grant Smith declared that his presence in the vicinity of Szombathely, the town in Western Hungary where Charles established his headquarters, was due to an invitation by Count Sigray, Governor of Western Hungary and owner of a large country estate there.

The Hungarian Government disavowed all knowledge of Charles's plans, and in an interview Regent Horthy declared that he

considered the very presence of the King dangerous to the best interests of the country. The coup stirred the National Assembly to action; in a special meeting on April 2 it adopted a resolution against the



(Keystone View Co.)

COLONEL LEHAR

*Commander of the West Hungarian Army,
who resigned when the coup d'état failed*

restoration of Charles, called his return a national danger, threatening the very peace of the country, and advised the Government in no uncertain terms to eliminate this danger. On the other hand, it was reported from Vienna that the Government would submit a bill to the National Assembly designating Aug. 20 as the date on which the King of Hungary should be selected.

On April 13 the Hungarian Government, through the Swiss Legation in Vienna, informed the Swiss Federal Council that Hungary considered the former Emperor Charles as its lawful sovereign, and that only "foreign influences" prevented the ex-Emperor from exercising his rights to authority. It requested the Swiss Government to permit Charles to reside permanently in Switzerland. On this request, however, Switzerland reserved its decision pending a full investigation of all the circumstances and a consideration of its own best interests.

Charles's unexpected return to Hungary precipitated a Cabinet crisis. Count Teleky, the Premier, tendered his resignation and that of the Ministers at a session of April 8. Two Ministers holding portfolios were especially charged by the Farmers' Party as being of Carlist sympathies. The same party, wielding decisive power in the Assembly, also demanded that the new Cabi-

net be selected from among such as favor free election of the future King; i.e., those who do not call themselves legitimists or sympathizers with the principle that Charles is the rightful King of Hungary, nor subscribe to the idea that only a Hapsburg can be selected. The Christian party opposed this resolution and wished that the whole affair be considered closed, but failed to obtain sufficient support.

Inspired by its success, the Farmers' Par-



(© Central News Service)

EX-EMPEROR CHARLES OF AUSTRIA
as photographed recently with his oldest
daughter at Villa Prangins, Switzerland

ty had gone a step further and demanded that all who had conspired for the restoration of Charles be prosecuted on a charge of treason; it voiced strong censure of the Government, charging duplicity in the matter. Acceptance of the resignation of the Government remained temporarily in abeyance, the Regent having declared that he must consult with leaders. The National Assembly adjourned until the appointment of the new Cabinet.

Undoubtedly, there are many in Hungary who have shown sympathy with the restoration idea, but even the foremost legitimists, such as Count Albert Apponyi, are opposed to immediate restoration of the Hapsburgs.

The aged statesman, who is also a leading figure in the group that desires tranquillity restored, has declared that only ill-wishers of Charles and Hungary could have suggested so unfortunate a step at this time, provoking the anger of the Entente. Premier Briand of France, in a note sent to Entente countries, including Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia, has vetoed the return to power of the Hapsburgs.

As to what prompted Charles to such action at a time when even his friends in Hungary were averse to it, various rumors circulate. One is to the effect that Charles was overcome by a fit of jealousy and feared lest some other Hapsburg should forestall him; presumably Archduke Joseph, once blocked by the Entente to mount the Hungarian throne, was plotting in favor of his son, Joseph Francis, whose betrothal to an Italian Duchess was reported as imminent. Italy's support thus assured, Charles may have thought he would have to act without delay. However that may be, he suffered a setback, and agitation for his restoration in Hungary will be checked for some time to come.

Charles's stay in Hungary lasted ten days, and in Budapest but a few hours. His interview with the regent occupied about three hours, at the end of which he decided to return to Bishop Mikes's palatial home in Szombathely, near Steinamanger; there he marked time for more than a week. His final decision to leave the country came on April 5, when he was confronted with a flat refusal to permit him to stay any longer. The Government itself cautioned him not to invite danger from the Entente and especially from countries of the Little Entente, i. e., Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia, which threatened war and actually mobilized their military. The Jugoslavs even crossed the boundary and occupied some coal mines in the vicinity of Pecs. The attitude of the Little Entente caused considerable indignation in Hungary, as voiced by Foreign Minister Gratz when he said in the National Assembly:

It is unprecedented that foreign Governments should force by threat of war a Government, whose independence they have recognized, to choose a Constitution and a sovereign in accordance with their caprice and their pretended interests, and compel it to expel a man who as a Hungarian has a right to remain in Hungary.

Failing to obtain enough support for his restoration even in Hungary, Charles at last yielded to the demand that he leave the country. He did so on April 6, but before leaving issued the following proclamation:

His Majesty leaves the country because of his conviction that the moment has not yet come for him to take over his right of governing. He cannot permit maintenance of his right to entail disturbances in the present state of peace. He leaves the land as the crowned King of Hungary.

The resignation of Colonel Lehar, military commander in West Hungary, followed; it was interpreted by some as proof that the Government was not in accord with the plans of Charles. Colonel Lehar was an ardent supporter of the King and accompanied him in his exile. It was stated that the Colonel would have been court-martialed had he remained in the country.

In summing up the situation, all factions agree that the attempted coup proved unprofitable for the interests of both Charles and Hungary. It is predicted that hereafter his followers will find it difficult to agitate his restoration, while for the moment the anti-Hapsburg group gained a marked advantage, which it may utilize decisively in spreading opposition.

Radical elements have seized upon the miscarriage of Charles's coup to try to set the people against any lawful government. They are thought to be responsible for the Yugoslav occupation of the mines around Pecs, in which city Count Karolyi's erstwhile associates have established a radically socialistic, autonomous Government under Yugoslav protection.

SWITZERLAND—In the Swiss Parliament interpellators asked the Government to explain how Charles had contrived to leave Switzerland; they intimated that he had violated the privilege of asylum by political plotting, and questioned his right to be allowed to use Swiss territory again as a refuge. The Canton de Vaud, where Prangins Castle is situated, decided to exercise its cantonal prerogative of refusing to receive Charles. The Swiss Government thereupon obtained the assent of Lucerne, and Charles and his entourage moved to that place. Prangins showed no grief over the dispossessed ruler's departure. Lucerne,

on the other hand, adopted a sympathetic attitude, believing, it was said, that the presence of Charles would lend interest to the place for tourists and thus be an aid toward prosperity. The new residence of Charles was formerly the refuge of Constantine, who has since been recalled to the throne of Greece.

AUSTRIA—The attempted restoration of Charles of Hapsburg to the Hungarian throne aroused strong opposition in Austria from the present régime, but the Government failed to present a united front on the question. Minister of War Mueller and Minister of the Interior Glaz, who objected especially to the placing of members of the National Guard upon the train on which Charles traveled through Austria, resigned from the Cabinet.

The former Emperor's journey through Austria was somewhat delayed at the Bruck Station, where members of the Socialist Party hostile to Charles insisted upon having an interview with the former ruler; but their desire to tell the former ruler some unpleasant truths was not granted by the Entente representatives.

Socialists, who now have the upper hand in Austria, indicated that they plan strong measures to prevent a recurrence of such attempts on the part of the exiled monarch. The press, largely controlled by them, uttered unrestrained denunciation. The Christian Socialists and the Conservatives, secretly in sympathy with Charles, tried to make things easier for him when it became apparent that his coup had failed. The Socialists, however, carried a measure under which the estate of Count Erdödy, in whose home Charles first rested on his way to Hungary, was to be confiscated and the Count expelled from Austria. They also demanded in Parliament that the counties of Western Hungary adjudged to Austria by the Peace Treaty should be ceded at once, so that Austria would at least have assurance that no new plots would be staged from this vicinity. They further demanded that every Austrian subject who had any part in the plot be prosecuted. Non-Socialist parties counseled calmness, and urged that the allegiance of the counties in question should be settled by friendly agreement between Austria and Hungary.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE AND THE HAPSBURGS

Effect of the adventure of former Emperor Charles in Hungary on the policy of the new Balkan Confederation—Internal affairs of Rumania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia

THE adventure of Charles Hapsburg at Budapest in the last days of March brought into prominent relief what the emancipated States of the dissolved dual-monarchy and those Balkan States which profited by the dissolution have been doing in the last few months to protect themselves from a reactionary movement in Central Europe toward the restoration of thrones. The international engagements in this part of Europe have been usually connoted under the title of the "Little Entente," although the original conception created by Take Jonescu, the Foreign Minister of Rumania, and perfected by Dr. Edouard Benès, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, has been vastly expanded. The original "Little Entente" was signed on Aug. 14, 1920. Rumania did not join it because, although it sufficiently protected her, as it did the signatories, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, from a reactionary Hungary, it did not protect her from a Bolshevik Russia. The compact, as revised and expanded, embraced the following new engagements:

The annex to the Treaty of Rapallo, signed Nov. 12 by Jugoslavia and Italy, consisting of a military convention later subscribed to by Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

The Franco-Polish declaration, signed at Warsaw, Feb. 2, 1921, which pledged France to aid Poland with war material and officers, in case she should be attacked by Russia.

The Rumanian-Polish pact, signed March 2, which sixteen days later was developed into a defensive alliance by the admission of Czechoslovakia.

It had been the original idea of Take Jonescu to include Greece in a chain of States which should extend from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, forming, on the one hand, a barrier against the move of Bolshevism westward, and, on the other, a protection for democracy against the re-establishment of royalty. The return of Greece to the old régime caused this plan to be modified, and on the very eve of Charles's adventure Dr. Benès, in the National Assembly at Prague, declared that Czechoslovakia was ready to negotiate with Hungary, the Magyar aris-

tocratic State, and recommended the ratification of the peace treaty with Bulgaria, so as to pave the latter's path into the "Little Entente." In regard to the doubtful adhesion of Hungary, he said:

The Magyars must cease their fanatical propaganda against Czechoslovakia, and in the differing social structure of autocratic Hungary and democratic Czechoslovakia I perceive difficulties in arriving at an agreement. The restoration of the Emperor Charles cannot be considered for a moment, and would constitute a *casus belli*. This applies not only to Charles himself, but to all members of the former royal house, particularly Joseph.

In regard to the "Little Entente" itself, he said:

This arrangement is, to a considerable extent, indispensable to the interests of international politics. No conflicting questions of prestige can arise between these States, whose relations with the Allies, especially England, France and Italy, are equally cordial.

It will be seen that while M. Jonescu exploited the anti-Bolshevist feature of the "Little Entente," Dr. Benès exploited the anti-reactionary feature. Both these policies had their separate patrons among the great powers. The former was patronized by France through her diplomacy at Warsaw and Bucharest; the latter by Italy through her diplomacy at Prague and Belgrade, based on the Treaty of Rapallo.

It is possible that the return of Constantine to the Greek throne and the subsequent marriages of two of his children with two of the children of the King of Rumania may have tended to qualify the anti-reactionary policy of M. Jonescu and cause it to be passed on to Dr. Benès. The restoration, however, also affected Jugoslavia, for it turned into a dead letter the Serbo-Grecian treaty of mutual defense, dating from March, 1913, and, as we shall see, inspired a Serbo-Bulgar rapprochement, initiated in Prague and Agram (Zagreb), the capital of Croatia.

It was Agram which took the lead in calling Hungary to account and in urging the "Little Entente" to act. Charles had

scarcely arrived in Budapest when the opposition paper, *Rijetch*, declared:

The key to the situation lies in the hands of the States bordering on Hungary. We must prove both to Hungary and to the powers that we are quite capable ourselves of hindering the realization of the aims of Hapsburgian reaction. Never before has such solidarity been shown; there is not a single newspaper which has not rallied to the support of the Government.

Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania on April 2 sent their ultimatum to the Hungarian Government, demanding that Charles leave the country within forty-eight hours. This ultimatum was endorsed by Italy. On the same day France announced her cordial support of it, thus bringing the two patrons of the "Little Entente" into common accord for the first time, and adding infinite prestige to the policies of M. Jonescu and Dr. Benès.

RUMANIA—The Dacia of Kolozsvár in the middle of March started a campaign against Rumanian corruption by comparing the conditions in Rumania with those in the neighboring State of Hungary. The Dacia said, among other things:

The contrast between the order of our neighbor and our own anarchy is amazing. Such a state of things as is found with us can exist nowhere else except in Soviet Russia. All over the Continent of Europe the work of reconstruction is being feverishly pushed forward; with us, however, though there is much talk of it, not even a signal box, a pointsman's hut or a bridge has yet been rebuilt. But the most humiliating thing of all is that our Hungarian neighbors speak of us—with justice, too—as a nation where boundless corruption reigns. Similar strictures are passed upon us by all our neighbors, both enemy and friendly, who give publicity to our daily chronicle scandaleuse.

A Czech Ministerial Councillor declared that he was constantly receiving incontrovertible testimony of acts disgraceful to Rumanian reputation, which rendered difficult the possibility of economic relations with us. As instances, he stated that certain Czech railway trucks lent to us more than a year ago had not yet been restored, despite repeated demands for them, and also that a locomotive, "borrowed for one day only," had been actually sold to a Rumanian timber merchant in Transylvania.

There is bitter feeling expressed in Transylvania over the means taken to enforce the attendance of Magyar children at Rumanian schools. This is particularly resented in those districts where, as in Csik, there are, according to the Government

census, 125,888 Magyars and only 18,032 Rumanians. In the district of Szepsiszentgyörgy all public servants have been notified that if they send their children to Hungarian schools the act, "if persisted in, will render them liable to prosecution before the Military Court for treason."

The appeal of the communists concerned in the November general strike and attempted revolution was dismissed by the Court of Cassation, and the leaders, including Francis Katyler, Trojan Novak and Kollman Maller, must now work for ten years in the salt mines, where a five-year sentence is usually considered equivalent to a sentence of death.

In the middle of March Parliament adopted a resolution providing for compulsory registration through local police bureaus of all persons who have been residents of the country since August, 1914. It was expected that the measure would facilitate the execution of the naturalization law of 1919, by which the candidate for citizenship was required to make personal application, the acceptance of which depended upon the will of the Ministry of the Interior, governed only by an interpretation of general qualifications.

Under the new rule persons who established their residence prior to August, 1914, and who desire to become citizens will take precedence over the later arrivals. The effect will be to keep the vast number of refugees from Russia, who have been arriving since 1918, from becoming citizens, except at the pleasure of the Ministry of the Interior.

JUGOSLAVIA—While Serbia proper continued to find evidence that Bulgaria was not sincerely carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, particularly in regard to disarmament and the return of stolen property to Serbia, the Croatian element, whose headquarters are at Agram, was endeavoring to promote friendship between Agram and Sofia. Neither the Croats nor the Slovenes can be made to feel the antagonism felt at Belgrade for Bulgaria. The official press of Czechoslovakia was similarly attempting to promote a rapprochement between all Jugoslavia and Bulgaria with a view to securing a better understanding between the Balkans and the new States of Central Europe.

On March 16 nine Slovenian members of the Peasant Party joined the bloc inaugurated by Premier Pashitch, thus giving him a control over 260 votes in the National Assembly out of a total of 419. On the same day an agreement was reached between the Government and Bosnian Mussulmans, who had a grievance against the Serbian land owners on account of the forcible seizure of their farms. The direct effect of this was the appointment of two Mussulmans to Cabinet portfolios; the general effect was to lighten the burdens of the commission of the Assembly which is drafting a Constitution for the entire country.

Owing to conflicting opinions, both political and racial, it was at first thought that the Constitution should provide for a federation of States, but with the growing support that the Premier has received from the regions outside of Serbia proper the Constitution is now reflecting the organism of a highly centralized Government, with all the old boundaries wiped out and the former divisions replaced by departments, as in France, with prefects appointed by the central Government. Each department is expected to include a population of 700,000, and will have its own Legislature, while the national Legislature will consist of a single elected Chamber, drawn from the counties into which each department will be divided. These local divisions will take into consideration three elements—industrial, racial and political. Universal manhood suffrage will prevail.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—The sudden appearance of Charles in Hungary caused considerable uneasiness in Czechoslovakia. The policy of the Czechs has been shaped on the general policy of the Entente, whose view would naturally be reflected in Prague. But apart from this, the Czechoslovaks have a special motive for their opposition to the restoration of Charles, or of any other member of the Hapsburg family. This motive springs from the fact that Hungarian

territories have variously been allocated among the neighboring States, including Czechoslovakia, and that all such ceded territories are still considered by the Hungarians, at least in principle, as their rightful possessions forced from them by coercion. The re-establishment of the Hungarian throne, in the Czechoslovak view, would foreshadow an attempt by the new holder of the crown of St. Stephen to regain these territories. The danger of a new union of Hungary and Austria, in case a Hapsburg were allowed to ascend the Hungarian throne, also disturbed the Czechs.

Czech and Hungarian representatives sitting in joint conference at Bruck to regulate economic relations, contingent on the reopening of the frontiers for commerce, were reported at this time to have entered into a valid pact, the immediate consequence of which was the rapid rise in the value of the Hungarian crown, which has doubled in value over the rate quoted a few weeks ago.

The Czechoslovak Government faces a difficult task in satisfying the wishes of the populace of Uhro-Rusinia—the easternmost part of the country—which is working for self-government. Councilor Frankenberg, delegated by President Masaryk, consulted leaders in Rusinia regarding a suitable basis for the establishment of a self-governing body. The plan so far formulated is to introduce a bill in Parliament which would provide for a temporary board of councilors until the time of election, when Deputies would be selected for the *Szozm* (Diet), which, in turn, would send a number of representatives to the Parliament at Prague. The Hungarian legal party in Rusinia, however, demands complete autonomy and the holding of the plebiscite promised in the Peace Treaty.

It was understood that Czechoslovakia had agreed to join France in the application of economic penalties against Germany, and even to contribute to military pressure if necessary.

AMERICA'S TIES WITH HUNGARY

BY DR. IMRE JOSIKA-HERCZEG

The author of the following article was graduated from the universities of Budapest and Kolozsvár with the degrees of Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Political Science. Under the Royal Hungarian Government he was appointed by Francis Kossuth, son of the great Kossuth of history, and then a member of the Hungarian Cabinet, to an important political and commercial mission to the United States. To his efforts was due the memorable visit of Count Apponyi to America in 1911. As a Captain of Squadron in the First Royal Hussars Dr. Josika-Herczeg saw active service on the Russian front during the first part of the World War. On hearing that the United States had entered the war, he sought and obtained a diplomatic mission abroad. One of the most influential Hungarians in the United States today, he is known as an earnest advocate of closer ties between the two countries

THERE are some things which Americans should never forget about Hungary. One of these is the fact that so many Hungarians fought side by side with the North during the Civil War. In the Arlington National Cemetery, at the end of a long path, are the graves of those Hungarian heroes who offered their lives so chivalrously to Lincoln to preserve this great Union of American people. The men whose remains lie here, like Louis Kossuth, came to the United States as political refugees. They answered with joy President Lincoln's first call to the country's colors. It was at his request that the Hungarians who fell while fighting to preserve the Union were buried with their American comrades in the National Cemetery.

It is now almost forgotten that Louis Kossuth, Governor of Hungary in 1848 and 1849, and leader of the Hungarian revolution, was liberated from his internment in Asia Minor by the intervention of the United States, and was brought to this country as the guest of the United States Government on board the frigate *Mississippi* in 1851. There are historical records which show America's sympathy for the Hungarian cause, and the treatment of Kossuth was but another evidence of this sympathy; it is a historical fact that certain powers were pressing Turkey urgently to deliver Kossuth up to Austria.

At about the time of Kossuth's arrival there came to this country many distin-



DR. IMRE JOSIKA-HERCZEG

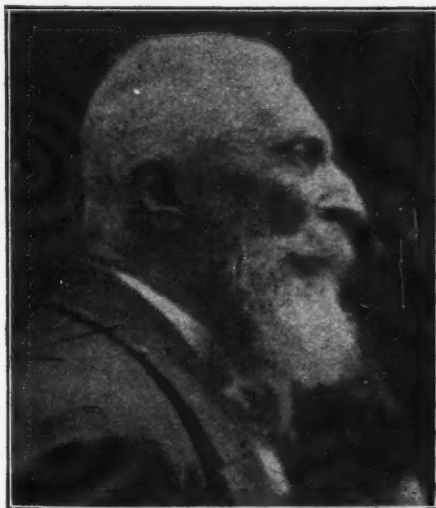
guished Hungarian citizens. The members of this immigration came from the upper and middle classes of the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom, and, naturally, they had received the highest education and good training in democratic government. Most of them had also been officers in the ranks of the Hungarian Army and had seen active service, which, naturally, made them desirable elements for Lincoln's army. These Hungarian political refugees were received in this country hospitably and were aided financially and even socially by the American people. The intention of these Hungarians was, of course, to return to their country, because they expected a call to the colors, but this call never came, and so they soon were scattered all over the United States. Some of them became farmers, engineers, lawyers, journalists, &c. In a word, they became useful citizens of the United States.

These were the men who, ten years later, offered their blood and lives in response to Lincoln's call. The records of the gallant deeds of the Hungarians who fought for the Union are innumerable. The Secretary of State published a report in which he stated definitely that about 25,000 Hungarians were fighting in Lincoln's army. The so-called Garibaldi Guard, which was with the Thirty-ninth New York Infantry, was mainly composed of Hungarians. The official records state that 1,800 Hungarian soldiers and about 100 Hungarian officers

—fully one-half of the total—were on the roster of Lincoln's riflemen, who were later incorporated with the Twenty-fourth Illinois Infantry. A number of these Hungarian soldiers subsequently won high rank; two became Major Generals, five Brigadier Generals, fifteen Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, thirteen Majors and twelve Captains. Many distinguished names might be mentioned, especially that of the gallant Major Charles Zagonyi, whose Hungarian Hussars in a whirlwind attack upon the Confederates at Springfield won immortality by their "Death Ride" against the artillery of the enemy. Other well-known names are General Asboth, General Albin Schoepf and General Julius Stahl, whose record is one of honor and distinction in the annals of the country.

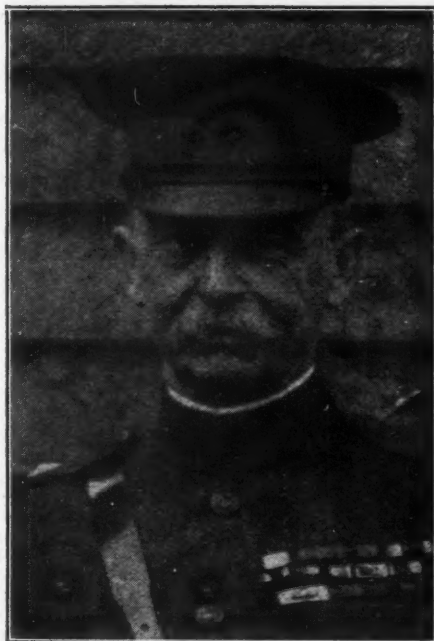
Two of Kossuth's great supporters in New York were William H. Seward, then United States Senator, and Horace Greeley. Senator Seward was champion of the great democratic ideals of Kossuth in the United States Senate, and Horace Greeley staunchly supported the great Hungarian patriot in the columns of *The Tribune*. When Seward became Secretary of State he sent a commission to Europe supporting Kossuth. ("The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union," by William H. Seward; Boston, 1864, pp. 6 and 7.)

The visit of Count Albert Apponyi to the United States in 1911 is still remembered.



(© Keystone View Co.)

COUNT ALBERT APPONYI
Veteran political leader of Hungary



(Times Wide World Photos)

GENERAL HARRY H. BANDHOLTZ
American Representative on International Mission to Hungary

Count Apponyi was the real political follower of Kossuth in liberalism and democracy. His visit to this country was virtually a triumphal tour; he was given high honors, including the invitation to address Congress. He received a great ovation from the members of the House and Senate. It is interesting to note that up to 1911 only three foreigners had been invited to address Congress, two of these being Hungarians—Kossuth and Apponyi—the third, Lafayette. Apponyi's lectures did much to strengthen the ties of friendship between the United States and Hungary. For more than fifty years Count Apponyi was leader of the Independent Kossuth Party in Hungary. He is recognized today not only in Hungary but also in the whole civilized world as one of the foremost statesmen of his time. His remarkable oratorical power and diplomatic abilities were greatly admired at the Peace Conference at Neuilly and Versailles.

The American public has very little knowledge of present-day happenings in Hungary. This is mainly due to unreliable news, explained by the fact that the American press is not directly represented in

Hungary, and is compelled to print news regarding that country which comes in several cases from unreliable sources. If asked why Hungary today is important I would answer: because Hungary for a thousand years has been and still is the door for Western Europe to the East. It is also the nearest to the Balkan border. Before the war the Balkan States found in Hungary all the industrial, financial and commercial connections they needed. These well-established industries, even in their present terribly damaged condition, are still furnishing a great number of locomotives, railway cars, and other equipment for Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Hungary is exporting electric light material to Italy, and such orders have been placed even from South America. France lately gave large orders for machinery parts to several Budapest factories.

After the World War, Hungary opened a new chapter in her history. On Aug. 20, 1921, she will elect her new ruler. According to Parliamentary decision, the Government will remain a Constitutional monarchy. It now appears that the political situation will soon crystallize. One thing is certain: as soon as the new ruler is chosen, the political horizon will be cleared of many pending questions, and the country will be in a position to continue the great work of consolidation and reconstruction.

Besides Count Apponyi, another great Hungarian statesman is Dr. Lorant Hegedus, Secretary of the Treasury for the past four or five months, and the financial brain of the country. During his short term of office Minister Hegedus has accomplished results in the economic consolidation of Hungary which have astonished Europe. He has put men to work and decreased unemployment from week to week. It is interesting to note that the number of unemployed in February, 1921, was between 45,000 and 50,000—an encouraging figure in view of the fact that during the Red Terror of communism there were over 130,000 unemployed in Hungary. Mr. Hegedus has solved the labor question and has convinced the people that the only thing for Hungary to do is to work steadily. It is due to his policy that the income of the country already covers the expense budget.

This masterwork of statesmanship speaks for itself. Secretary Hegedus is typical of the men who have helped Hungary to regain the confidence of the outside world.

Hungary's present feeling toward America is one of the greatest cordiality. On the occasion of the reopening of Parliament on March 4, Charles Huszar, the late Premier, proposed an official greeting to President Harding. The proposal met with an enthusiastic reception. New ties have come to link Hungary to America. The new Hungary will long remember gratefully the names of some representatives of America who have aided her in her day of trial. Among the first on the list stands the name of Herbert Hoover, who did much to lay the foundation for Hungary's affection and gratitude. Another name is that of Professor Coolidge of Harvard University, who headed the American Commission in Budapest.

I would mention here specially General Bandholtz of the United States Army, who until recently was head of the Military Mission to Hungary. I am confident that even the children in the Hungarian schools will be taught to revere his name. During the frightful days of the Rumanian invasion the American Military Mission was the only place where the terrorized Hungarians could go to regain their civil rights. When the Rumanians tried to loot the picture galleries of the National Museum they found the American, General Bandholtz, with his military aids before the doors of that institution, and it was he who placed the official seal of the United States upon the Museum's doors and thus prevented the Rumanians from carrying out their designs.

Another name which cannot be forgotten is that of Captain Pedlow, head of the American Red Cross in Budapest, who represents the heart of the people of the United States. The names of Hoover, Bandholtz and Pedlow, like those of Kosuth and Apponyi, will be everlasting in Hungary, just as in America the memory will live of those thousands of Hungarian heroes who died for the Union's cause. These are links between the people of Hungary and the United States which will never be broken.

GIVING INDIA SELF-GOVERNMENT

By J. ELLIS BARKER

Difficulties of Great Britain's task in introducing modern parliamentary methods in the rule of India's many races and religious sects—Establishing the new Chamber of Princes—How all attempts at reform are obstructed by Gandhi's "non-co-operators"

IT is widely alleged that England rules India with barbarous severity and that she is largely responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the country and for the terrible diseases and famines which periodically destroy large numbers of the inhabitants. Many believe that before long the English will be expelled from India, that fear has caused England to grant some measure of self-government to the natives, but that the concessions lately made have come too late. The reading public likes sensation, and the news agencies obligingly provide it with accounts of Indian murders and conspiracies, with seditious speeches and with stories about poisonous snakes, tigers and children brought up by wolves. The true facts are little known, largely because the Indian Government has neglected to enlighten the world as to its achievements.

India is a gigantic country. It contains about one-fifth of the world's population. However, the Indians are by no means a single nation, as some may believe. India is a loose conglomerate of races and nations held together by the British Administration. Withdrawal of that administration would cause India to be dissolved into its component parts and would destroy the internal peace which the natives have enjoyed for so long. About 150 different languages are spoken in India. Hindi is spoken by 82,000,000 people, Bengali by 48,000,000, Telugu by 24,000,000, Marathi by 20,000,000, Tamil by 18,000,000, Punjabi by 16,000,000, &c. Religion is one of the most powerful bonds in the East. Of the 315,000,000 Indians, 218,000,000 are Hindus, 67,000,000 are Mohammedans, 11,000,000 are Buddhists, 4,000,000 are Christians, 3,000,000 are Sikhs, &c., and strife among the various religions and among the numerous sects belonging to each religion

is extraordinarily bitter and passionate. Recently, for instance, hundreds of Sikhs have been killed in collisions between orthodox and reforming sects. Yet it has been asserted that the English were responsible for these occurrences.

The Indians are poor, ignorant and backward, and they suffer severely from famine, plague, cholera and other devastating diseases, owing to the extraordinary conditions of the country. India is greatly overpopulated. In the Provinces which stand under direct British Government there were 223 people per square mile in 1911, while there were only 191.2 in France and 171 in Pennsylvania. However, large portions of India consist of waste land. If we look at some of the principal Provinces we find that the density of the population is far greater than in France and in the most closely settled American States. In 1910 Massachusetts had 419 people per square mile, while the Province of Bihar, with 24,000,000 inhabitants, had 561 people per square mile. Bengal, with 45,000,000 people, had 578 people per square mile; Oudh, with 13,000,000 people, had 520 inhabitants per square mile; Agra, with 35,000,000 inhabitants, had 417 people per square mile; while the native State of Travancore, with 3,500,000 inhabitants, had 452 people per square mile, and Cochin, with 1,000,000 inhabitants, had 675 people per square mile. The people of France, England, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, &c., can easily make a living, owing to the vast natural resources possessed. The densely settled districts of India, however, are condemned to poverty and want by the insufficiency of the natural resources on the one hand and by an extraordinarily high birth rate on the other hand. The great bulk of the people of India live by agriculture, and Indian agriculture is, and will

always remain, exceedingly precarious, because the country is exposed to terrible droughts.

Besides, conservativeness and prejudice make it exceedingly difficult to increase agricultural production. Weeds, noxious insects and diseases of men and beasts are considered inevitable visitations of the Deity. The cultivators of the soil prefer methods used from time immemorial to science. Hence produce per acre is low, and the live stock has utterly degenerated. The Indian agricultural and veterinary departments have done a great deal of good; however, it is difficult to increase the fertility of the soil, as the natives insist upon using manure as fuel instead of returning it to the ground.

In 1913 the birth rate among the people of India was 39.4 per thousand, while it was 27.5 per thousand in Germany, 23.9 per thousand in England, and 18.8 per thousand in France. The Indian villages have been described as a collection of hovels erected upon dung heaps. The intense conservatism of the people and the conditions of the country combined keep them in ignorance and poverty, and largely defeat all attempts to introduce among them educa-

tion, sanitation and better methods of production.

Although India is poor, if measured by European standards, the people in general are far more prosperous than they have been for decades, and the wealth of India is rapidly increasing, largely owing to the excellence of the English administration and to vast improvements which it has brought about, notwithstanding the inertia of the inhabitants. India, far from being bled by England, is enriched by it. That may be seen by the fact that India is by far the largest importer of silver and gold in the world. Since 1873 India's imports of gold have exceeded India's exports by £251,210,000, according to the official figures, which would probably be greatly increased if we had any means to ascertain the unrecorded importations.

A MAZE OF RACES

India, far from being a single country inhabited by a single race, which, with the awakening of nationalism, may be expected to throw off the English yoke, is a world in itself. Thirty years ago Lord Dufferin, one of the most eminent Viceroys of India,



(Photo International)

DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, ONLY SURVIVING SON OF QUEEN VICTORIA, HOLDING A RECEPTION TO NATIVE PRINCES IN INDIA ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE NEW INDIAN PARLIAMENT AT DELHI

drew the following picture of the country, which is still true:

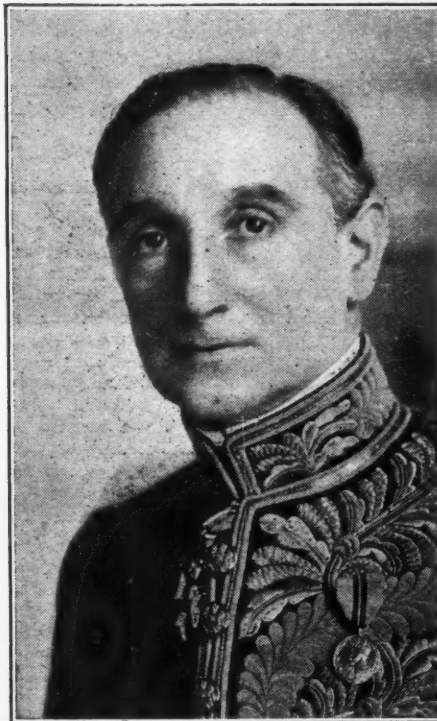
This population is composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practising diverse rites, speaking different languages, while many of them are still further separated from one another by discordant prejudices, by conflicting usages, and even antagonistic material interests. But perhaps the most patent characteristic of our Indian cosmos is its division into two mighty political communities as distant from each other as the poles, asunder in their religious faith, their historical antecedents, their social organization and their natural aptitudes; on the one hand the Hindus, numbering 190,000,000, with their polytheistic beliefs, their temples adorned with images and idols, their veneration for the sacred cow, their elaborate caste distinctions and their habits of submission to successive conquerors; on the other hand, the Mohammedans, a nation of 50,000,000, with their monotheism, their iconoclastic fanaticism, their animal sacrifices, their social equality and their remembrance of the days when, enthroned at Delhi, they reigned supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. To these must be added a host of minor nationalities—most of them numbering millions—almost as widely differentiated from one another by ethnological distinctions as are the Hindus from the Mohammedans, such as the Sikhs, with their warlike habits and traditions and their enthusiastic religious beliefs; the Rohillas, the Pathans, the Assamese, the Baluchees and other wild and martial tribes on our frontiers.

At one end of the scale we have the naked savage hill man, with his stone weapons, his head hunting, his polyandrous habits and his childish superstitions; and at the other, the Europeanized native gentleman, with his English costume, his advanced democratic ideas, his Western philosophy and his literary culture, while between the two lie, layer upon layer, or in close juxtaposition, wandering communities with their flocks of goats and moving tents; collections of undisciplined warriors, with their blood feuds, their clan organization and loose tribal Government; feudal chiefs and barons, with their retainers, their seigniorial jurisdiction and their medieval notions, and modernized country gentlemen and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with their well-managed estates and prosperous enterprises.

England's difficulty in administering India is largely due to the lack of uniformity of Indian conditions, to the fact that it has to grapple, not with a few large problems, but with an infinite number of large and small ones, and that the differences existing among the Indians themselves are almost irreconcilable.

The English have been accused of ruling

India by terror, by the display and use of overwhelming force. Nothing can be more false than this statement. India is governed by a few thousand civil servants of English nationality, who direct and are supported by vast numbers of native officials.



LORD READING

New Viceroy of India, who faces a difficult task

The English army of occupation consists only of 75,000 soldiers, who, as a rule, are concentrated in garrisons whence the border may be watched. How small the proportion of English people in India is may be gauged by the fact that per thousand population there are more Chinese in the United States than English people in India. It is as impossible to keep 300,000,000 dissatisfied Indians in subjugation by means of 75,000 white soldiers as it would be to keep 100,000,000 dissatisfied and unarmed Americans in subjection by means of 25,000 foreign soldiers stationed near the Canadian frontier.

England owes the strong position which she occupies in India, not to the cruelty of her rule, but to her fairness, her justice

and her respect of India's feelings, wishes and prejudices. Her position is one of the greatest difficulty because of the extraordinary sensitiveness of the natives with regard to their religions, which differ so vastly from those of Europe. In a little official handbook entitled "The Indian Empire: A Short Review and Some Hints for Soldiers Proceeding to India," which was published long before the war, we read, for instance, with regard to the Hindus:

The principal points to be observed in order to avoid wounding the religious feelings of Hindus are:

Do not go inside temples or burning ghats without permission, or meddle with shrines, sacred trees or rocks.

When cattle are killed or beef is being handled, arrange to perform the necessary operations out of the sight of Hindus.

Do not expect a Hindu to assist in killing a snake or to handle one when dead. Leave these reptiles alone when they live near temples or shrines or if you have reason to think they are regarded as sacred.

Never shoot monkeys, any game mentioned in a shooting pass, or any of the half-tame birds and beasts which hang around temples and villages.

Do not try to catch fish or to shoot crocodiles in water near temples or burning ghats or where the country folk ask you not to do so.

Never damage tulsi plants, pipal, banyan or ball trees.

Do not go near places where food is being cooked.

It is best not to offer food or drink at all, but if you do, do not be offended by a refusal. Under no circumstances offer beef in any form to any Hindu or flesh of any kind to a Brahman.

If water is offered you, do not drink out of the vessel it is brought in; use your own mug or tumbler, or make a cup of your hands in Eastern style.

If taking water from wells, do not draw with the village buckets; if you have none of your own handy, natives will almost always draw water for you, if asked civilly.

Brahmans and sadhus are best left alone altogether; if you do speak to them, be ordinarily polite.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES

In the early days England went to India for the same reason for which France and Holland had gone there. Adventurers tried to enrich themselves in the country, and cared little about the welfare of the inhabitants. However, the spirit of colonization in the best sense of the term soon as-

serted itself. The English in India endeavored to improve the fate of the people by giving them peace and good government. The vastness, the multifariousness and the paternal solicitude of the English administration may be seen from a sketch descriptive of the functions of the Indian Government which is contained in the report of the Decentralization Commission. It states:

The Government [in India] claims a share in the produce of the land; and save where, as in Bengal, it has commuted this into a fixed land tax, it exercises the right of periodical re-assessment of the cash value of its share. In connection with its revenue assessments, it has instituted a detailed cadastral survey, and a record-of-rights in the land. Where its assessments are made upon large landholders, it intervenes to prevent their levying excessive rents from their tenants; and in the Central Provinces it even takes an active share in the original assessment of landlords' rents. In the Punjab, and some other tracts, it has restricted the alienation of land by agriculturists to non-agriculturists. It undertakes the management of landed estates when the proprietor is disqualified from attending to them by age, sex, or infirmity, or, occasionally, by pecuniary embarrassment. In times of famine it undertakes relief works and other remedial measures upon an extensive scale. It manages a vast forest property and is a large manufacturer of salt and opium. It owns the bulk of the railways of the country and directly manages a considerable portion of them, and it has constructed and maintains most of the important irrigation works. It owns and manages the postal and telegraph systems. It has the monopoly of note issue, and it alone can set the mints in motion. It acts, for the most part, as its own banker, and it occasionally makes temporary loans to Presidency banks in times of financial stringency.

With the co-operation of the Secretary of State, it regulates the discharge of the balance of trade, as between India and the outside world, through the action of the India Council's drawings. It lends money to municipalities, rural boards and agriculturists, and occasionally to the owners of historic estates. It exercises a strict control over the sale of liquor and intoxicating drugs, not merely by the prevention of unlicensed sale, but by granting licenses for short periods only and subject to special fees which are usually determined by auction. In India, moreover, the direct responsibilities of Government in respect of police, education, medical and sanitary operations, and ordinary public works, are of a much wider scope than in the United Kingdom. The Government has, further, very intimate relations with the numerous native States, which collectively cover more than one-third of the whole area of India, and comprise more than

one-fifth of its population. Apart from the special functions narrated above, the Government of a subcontinent containing nearly 1,800,000 square miles and 300,000,000 people is in itself an extremely heavy burden, and one which is constantly increasing with the economic development of the country and the growing needs of populations of diverse nationality, language and creed.

A few thousand English officials act more or less the part of Providence to more than 300,000,000 people and try to improve their lot and to reconcile their differences.

In 1746-49 the English made war on the French in India and conquered the country under Clive and Hastings in the course of decades. While many Englishmen, animated by fear, wished to keep the Indians in strict subjection, some of the most enlightened administrators desired to raise them and to teach them the arts of government, introducing among them Western standards and accomplishments. One of the most eminent Anglo-Indian soldiers and administrators, Sir Thomas Munro, wrote, for instance, 120 years ago:

We should look on India not as a tempo-

rary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular Government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it.

Other prominent Anglo-Indian statesmen have expressed similar views. From decade to decade the English in India have tried to associate the people to an ever-increasing degree in the government of the country.

PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS

With infinite patience and effort England has tried to improve the conditions under which the Indian people live. Good law and a good medical service have been provided, education has been energetically developed and the prosperity of the masses has been increased by the organization of agriculture and by opening up the country. India's interests have always stood first with the administrators. By developing education on too literary lines they have created a dissatisfied proletariat of students and pro-



SKETCH MAP OF INDIA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE CHIEF CITIES AND CENTRES OF DISAFFECTION

fessional men. In order to keep the Indians from being exploited by European capitalists, the Indian Government has either built its own railways or has strictly limited the profits of privately built railroads and other undertakings.

Vast stretches of India which used to be a desert have been converted into densely settled territories yielding prolific crops by the creation of huge irrigation works. The English Government has constructed 66,120 miles of irrigation canals, which in their combined length would circle the globe three times. With their help 25,000,000 acres, more than one-eighth of India's agricultural area, have been made to yield very large crops. Some of the works in connection with the irrigation service are very vast. For instance, the reservoirs of the Western Ghats possess masonry dams 270 feet high. In all its public works and in the administration in general the Anglo-Indian Government has practiced the utmost economy.

The vast majority of Indians of all classes recognize the benefit of England's rule. Hence all India supported England with the utmost enthusiasm in the war. A distinguished Indian Judge, Nawab Nizamut Jung of the High Court of Hyderabad, published in *The London Times* of Oct. 2, 1914, a poem expressive of the feelings of his countrymen at the occasion of the landing of the Indian contingent at Marseilles. It ran as follows:

Though weak our hands, which fain would clasp

The warrior's sword with warrior's grasp
On Victory's field;
Yet turn, O mighty Mother! turn
Unto the million hearts that burn
To be thy shield!

Thine equal justice, mercy, grace,
Have made a distant alien race
A part of thee!
'Twas thine to bid their souls rejoice,
When first they heard the living voice
Of liberty!

Unmindful of their ancient name,
And lost to Honor, Glory, Fame,
And sunk in strife
Thou found'st them, whom thy touch hath made
Men, and to whom thy breath conveyed
A nobler life!

They whom thy love hath guarded long,
They, whom thy care hath rendered strong
In love and faith,
Their heart-strings round thy heart entwine;
They are, they ever will be thine,
In life—in death!

Pessimists and men little acquainted with India foretell that the Mutiny which began in 1857 will be followed by a more terrible rising which will destroy England's rule. They forget that the great Mutiny was limited to the old Bengal army, that the vast majority of the people either remained passive or supported the British, that conditions have completely changed since then. If a great rising should occur, it would once more be found that millions of Indians would defend the English. It is not without cause that most Indians prefer trial by an English Judge to trial by one of their own countrymen.

UNREST AND ITS CAUSES

Although England has conscientiously done her best by India, placing Indian interests above English interests, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with English rule. Mistakes have been made, for even the ablest and the most painstaking officials are apt to err. Natives have had reason to complain of the tactlessness of individual Englishmen here and there. Education has created a great deal of disappointment among men who have learned the rudiments of European science and art, but who have failed to succeed because they lacked other indispensable qualifications or because the number of candidates for employment was greater than the number of vacancies.

An extraordinarily high percentage of political crimes is due to the fanaticism and enthusiasm found among the young and immature. According to the report of the Sedition Committee of 1918, 186 persons were convicted between 1907 and 1917 of revolutionary crimes in Bengal or were killed in the commission of such crimes. Of these 186 individuals two were less than 16 years old, 48 were from 16 to 20 years old, and 76 were aged from 21 to 25. Two-thirds of these criminals were youths. As regards the occupation of these 186 criminals, 68 were students, 24 were persons of no occupation, largely office seekers; 20 were clerks who occupied humble positions in Government employment, 16 were youthful teachers and 5 were journalists. Foiled ambition and failure drove these youthful students to political agitation and eventually to political crime.

Unrest in India is due to a large number

of causes. There is the dissatisfaction of the struggling intelligentsia, which with youthful exuberance recklessly plunges into revolution everywhere. Besides, the Indian students, both in England and in India, have been taught to admire democracy and self-government. Japan's victory over Russia has given a mighty encouragement to all the nations of the East. The idea of democracy and of self-determination has come to the fore during the war, and the Russian revolution turned the heads of many Indians who were imperfectly informed about events in Russia. Besides, the English administration in India became very unpopular with certain classes, which had to be restrained in the interest of the community. Among the most determined opponents of English rule are the village usurers, the small-town bankers and grasping money-lenders, who are prevented by English law from seizing the land of the poor. Lastly, every trouble afflicting the people is readily attributed to the all-embracing Government, which is held responsible for the failure of the harvest and for religious and racial strife. Not unnaturally, all the enemies of England have tried to exploit the short-sightedness and credulity of the Indian masses. German, Irish and Russian agitators have done everything in their power to throw discredit upon England's government of India.

TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT

Consecutive administrations had striven to give to the native Indians an ever-growing share in the management of the country. During the war the desire among cultured Indians for more liberal institutions increased, and the English Government resolved to open a large avenue to India's abilities and ambitions. The Montagu-Chelmsford report of April 22, 1918—Mr. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford the Indian Viceroy—laid down the following principles for the future government of India:

There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.

The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps toward the progressive realization of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to

give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and, saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased.

In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Governments must be relaxed.

The lengthy recommendations made by the committee were officially summarized as follows:

The Executive—To increase the Indian element in the Governor General's Executive Council.

The Provinces—The Provincial Government to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India.

Local Self-government—Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible.

The Public Services—Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished.

In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India.

Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services.

In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until the position is reviewed by the commission.

Steps were promptly taken to carry out these recommendations as soon as possible, but in the meantime the principal agitators continued inflaming the people by every means in their power. They incited the Mohammedans against England because of the peace conditions which were to be imposed upon Turkey and the Sultan. They exploited with the utmost recklessness every actual or fancied grievance, holding the Government responsible. The proposed concessions to the Indian people were in advance declared to be utterly insufficient and unacceptable, an insult to India. Egged on

by reckless and suborned mischief mongers, crimes of violence became more and more frequent, in Bombay and the Punjab. Telegraph lines were cut, railways wrecked, banks plundered, individual Englishmen murdered. In the Indian temperament there is a strong strain of violence. Men of many races are apt to run *amok* and to murder all and sundry in a fit of ungovernable passion.

When the agitation was at its height the Amritsar massacre occurred on April 13, 1919. In consequence of murderous attacks, destruction of property, looting, &c., political assemblies had been forbidden. Martial law had been declared. Misled by agitators, thousands of people flocked to a forbidden meeting. The General-in-Command had only a few armed soldiers at his disposal. He feared a collision and the beginning of a widespread massacre of Europeans, similar to that which occurred at the time of the great mutiny of 1857. He marched his few soldiers to the meeting place and opened fire on the demonstrators without further warning. Several hundreds were killed.

This unfortunate occurrence, which led to the punishment and dismissal of the General-in-Command, naturally created a deep impression throughout India. England was held responsible for the act of General Dyer, to the deep regret of all those Englishmen who wished to pursue a policy of conciliation and of friendship toward the native Indians. Feeling toward England had become greatly embittered, owing to this unfortunate collision.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

The Government of India act, which was based upon the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, was passed in December, 1919. India received representative government and a greatly increased share in the administration of the country. The King-Emperor signified assent to the great Reform bill in a long proclamation which was published on Dec. 23, 1919, in which King George pointed out that the reforms granted were in accordance with the liberal policy which England had pursued for decades, and in which he called upon the people of India to forget old grievances and to co-operate with England in order

to lead India toward a bright and brilliant future. That proclamation stated:

Another epoch has been reached today in the annals of India. I have given my royal assent to an act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The act of 1858 transferred the administration from the company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India today. The act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the act of 1909. The act which has now become law intrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress. * * *

The path will not be easy, and in the march toward the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries, and, while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance toward free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfill, as in the past, their highest purpose of faithful service to my people. * * *

While parliamentary institutions on democratic lines were granted to the provinces governed directly by England, the rulers of the independent States were encouraged to form a Chamber of Princes. The inauguration of the new era was intrusted to the Duke of Connaught, the uncle of the King, who is well known throughout India, and who had made himself extremely

popular during his long stay in the country. The inauguration took place at Delhi in the most impressive manner. The Duke delivered the King's message to the Indian Princes and people, and, when his official address was ended, he addressed the assembly in somewhat faltering tones, asking permission to add a personal appeal to his official statement. [This eloquent appeal was given in full in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*, Page 138.] His plea for the burial of the dead past, and for a joining of hands for realization of India's new hopes, made a deep impression.

GANDHI'S BOYCOTT CRUSADE

England's difficulties, however, are by no means ended. Numerous agitators continue making mischief and deluding the masses. Among these Mr. Gandhi is by far the most prominent. This interesting personage is a pupil of Tolstoy. He met the great Russian philosopher, poet and moralist, and learned from him the gospel which combines lofty idealism with anarchism, the very gospel which has destroyed Russia. Mr. Gandhi, like Tolstoy, has preached for years the gospel of non-resistance, and, like his Russian prototype, tries to live a saintly life as an ascetic. However, he not only preaches the ideal policy of non-resistance, which appeals equally to devout Christians and to devout Hindus, but he teaches at the same time the duty of non-co-operation with the English in India, hoping to drive them out by isolating them completely. At a special congress held in Calcutta in September, 1920, he laid down his program of non-co-operation, which comprises the following items:

- (1) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in the place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces.
- (2) The gradual boycott of the British courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of disputes.
- (3) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and laboring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia.
- (4) Withdrawal by the candidates of their candidature for elections to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the advice of the Congress, offer himself for election.
- (5) The boycott of foreign goods.

The carrying out of the Gandhi program would lead to complete chaos in India, as the British-established law courts, schools, &c., cannot be replaced by native institutions. In his extravagance Mr. Gandhi has demanded in addition the resignation of all titles and honorary offices by Indians and the boycott of all undertakings managed by Englishmen. As the railways, the telegraphs, the Post Office, the irrigation service, &c., are directed by Englishmen, the carrying out of Mr. Gandhi's program would involve India's reversion to barbarism.

The members of the Indian National Congress, impressed by England's obvious desire to lead India on the way to self-government by easy stages, had drafted the following resolution at the end of 1919:

The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

Mr. Gandhi possesses to an eminent degree the fatal gift of eloquence. He succeeded in carrying the Congress with him and caused it to replace this moderate and sensible resolution by the following one, which was passed in 1920:

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

The meaning of the word "Swaraj" is made clear by the policy which Mr. Gandhi preaches unceasingly. For instance, he stated in his organ, *Young India*:

The movement is essentially religious. The business of every God-fearing man is to dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences. * * * Therefore, whoever is convinced that this Government represents the activity of Satan has no choice left to him but to dissociate himself from it.

Swaraj—self-government as Mr. Gandhi understands it—is to be carried out by the complete boycott of England and of everything English. That policy would inevitably lead to civil war in India, and it would, before long, create in that country condi-

tions worse than those prevailing in Russia.

Happily for India, Mr. Gandhi's agitation is proving a failure. Only a few prominent Indians have resigned their titles and offices. Some lawyers have stopped practicing the law, but these are mostly men who had failed in their attempt to obtain any business and who hoped to benefit themselves by a dramatic formal withdrawal from the courts. Although many Indians, obedient to Mr. Gandhi's orders, boycotted the Duke of Connaught by closing their shops and staying indoors, reducing his reception in some localities to a more or less official function, they have come freely forward as candidates for election and as voters. In only six of the 637 constituencies the elections failed on account of the absence of any candidate. The extreme non-co-operators have stood aside from the councils, but they are only a small minority. Thus the attempt to introduce parliamentary government into India has succeeded, notwithstanding the hostility of the extremists. Owing to the limitation of the franchise, the Indian electorate consists at present of only 5,000,000, but the number will grow, and in course of time India will possess democratic and representative institutions and self-government on democratic lines.

NEW METHODS OF EXTREMISTS

The non-co-operators have not failed to observe the collapse of their original program. So their most recent activities have been directed toward other ends. They are striving by a passionate campaign to bring into the remote villages a belief in the "Satanic" nature of the Anglo-Indian Government, and they are resolved to avail themselves of every genuine or fancied grievance which may serve their purpose. They are endeavoring to exploit agrarian, industrial and religious troubles with a view to attacking the established Government. With this end in view, they have taken up the grievances of the tenant farmers of Oudh and of Bihar, and they are endeavoring to create trouble in every mill, factory, mine, and wherever labor is employed.

This change of policy means the beginning of the end of the policy of Swaraj.

Instead of directing a nation-wide agitation against the Anglo-Indian Government, they endeavor, like the I. W. W., to make trouble by "boring from within," wishing to create trouble for trouble's sake. They will no doubt cause a great deal of further mischief. However, the new councils have obtained the support of educated Indian opinion, which is ignoring Mr. Gandhi and his supporters. The Indian councils and the new Ministers are finding their feet. That huge country has been fairly started on the road toward self-government.

England strives to raise India not only by political and economic measures, but also by social recognition. Formerly Indians were never admitted to English clubs and families. Now there are many inter-racial clubs, and Indians are even elected to English clubs, if they are personally acceptable. Until the outburst of racial ill-feeling which followed the trouble of April, 1919, it was also indubitable that social intercourse in sports and entertainments was widely growing. In the past native Indians were discriminated against in the English Army. That discrimination tends to disappear. The report of the Montagu-Chelmsford Commission stated:

British commissions have for the first time been granted to Indian officers. The problem of commissions is one that bristles with difficulties. The announcement of his Majesty's Government that "the bar which has hitherto prevented the admission of Indians to commissioned rank in his Majesty's army should be removed" has established the principle that the Indian soldier can earn the King's commission by his military conduct. It is not enough merely to assert a principle. We must act on it. The services of the Indian Army in the war and the great increase in its numbers make it necessary that a considerable number of commissions should now be given. The appointments made have so far been few. Other methods of appointment have not yet been decided on, but we are impressed with the necessity of grappling with the problem. We also wish to establish the principle that if an Indian is enlisted as a private in a British unit of his Majesty's Army its commissioned ranks also should be open to him. The Indian soldier who fights for us and earns promotion in the field can reasonably ask that his conduct should offer him the same chances as the European beside whom he fights.

There is every prospect that India will settle down within reasonable time, notwithstanding the mischievous pertinacity of

agitators and the desire of England's enemies to create trouble. In order to open the new era worthily and to make the experiment of democratized institutions a success, the British Government has sent there Lord Reading, who has shown his

eminent ability, energy, industry and tact in all the important functions which he has undertaken. He is probably the best man available for the most important post of Viceroy under the new conditions created by the Reform bill.

GANDHI— BRITAIN'S FOE IN INDIA

A Hindu Mahatma, preacher of "non-co-operation," a militant Tolstoy who advocates the ejection of the British from India by passive resistance and admits that this movement may lead to the shedding of much blood—Gandhi's personality described

TWO recent events have focused world interest on Great Britain's problem in India. One was the appointment of Lord Reading, who had long held the high office of Lord Chief Justice, as the new Viceroy of India; the other was the opening by the Duke of Connaught—the only surviving son of Queen Victoria—of the advisory Indian Parliament established by the new Reform act at Delhi. Both events were considered in Great Britain and India alike as of the greatest historical importance. The opening of the Delhi Parliament, amid impressive ceremonies, was an expression of Great Britain's willingness to start India on the road to democracy. The appointment of Lord Reading, one of the keenest and wisest minds of England, signified that the situation in India was dangerous in the extreme, and needed an administrator of the highest ability to cope with it.

The anti-British ferment in India began before the war, and continued while the allied nations were at grips with Germany. With the aid of the native princes, numbering some 112 Indian potentates, all rioting and disturbances were repressed. The existing discontent, however, was augmented by the use of Indian troops in France, and troubles began anew. The slogan of the war, "self-determination of the peoples," bit into the Hindu mind, and the anti-British movement became clearly crystallized. In an effort to overcome Indian hostility, measures providing a lim-

ited degree of self-government were embodied in an Indian Home Rule bill, based on the findings of the Montagu-Chelmsford report to Parliament. This bill was finally passed in 1919, nineteen months after the submission of the report.

INCREASING HOSTILITY

During this interim the disorders in India had broken out afresh, and had led to the passing of the Rowlatt bill, a stern repressive act known in India as the "Black Cobra" bill. This repressive measure, vigorously enforced, culminated in the so-called massacre at Amritsar (in the Punjab Province), where General Dyer, the British officer in command, opened fire on a multitude of assembled natives; a number were killed and many wounded. Though the British Government censured General Dyer severely, the British press showed a disposition to commend him for his firmness in putting down what was described as revolution; commendatory speeches were made in Parliament, after General Dyer's removal from active service in India, and a large purse was raised for the censured General from public contributions. The stern repressions of the Rowlatt bill, and the whole British attitude toward the Dyer case, have contributed in large measure to intensify Indian hostility to the British régime.

Undeterred, and perhaps even stimulated by this growing hostility, the British Government proceeded with its plans to lead

India slowly, safely and sanely toward the ideal of democracy. The reform bill sponsored by Lord Montagu—the Secretary of State for India—has been described as a beginning of self-government; under it the Indian will participate in the government of his home land on an advisory basis, the British, however, retaining control of all political and legislative initiative. The impressive opening of the new Council at Delhi on Feb. 8, 1921, inaugurated the application of Indian *swaraj* (home-rule) as the British interpret it.

GANDHI—ENGLAND'S FOE

In this new legislation, however, the British reckoned without the most dangerous opponent that they have ever been compelled to face in India. This persistent and effective anti-British agitator, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, is the most-talked-of man in India today. Curiously enough, he was educated in England. Professor Gilbert Murray, the Greek scholar, in an article published not long ago in the *Hibbert Journal*, gave this lucid sketch of Gandhi's early career and personality:

About the year 1889 a young Indian student, called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. * * * He took his degrees and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than for law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagrest allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to practice at the law because his religion—a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion—forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, he ate, I believe, only rice, and drank only water, and slept on the floor; and his wife, who seemed to be his companion in everything, lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man, with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness.

Mr. Gandhi acquired political significance in the eyes of the British Government in 1893, when he accepted the appeal of the 150,000 Indians in South Africa to come to Natal and to plead against the decree of expulsion by the South African Government on the ground of color, as well as against

discriminations in taxation and registration practiced against them by the Government, and against the violent actions of South African mobs. He went as a barrister, and was forbidden to plead. He went again in 1895, and was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban.

For many years following this experience he was engaged in passive resistance to the British Government. And yet in 1899, on the outbreak of the Boer war, he organized an Indian Red Cross unit; in 1904, when plague broke out in Johannesburg, he opened a private hospital; in 1906, when a native rebellion began in Natal, he organized and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers in work which proved to be extremely dangerous and painful. For this he was thanked by the Governor of Natal. Shortly afterward he was thrown into jail at Johannesburg for his political activities. Work for humanity was one thing with Gandhi, hostility to the British another.

HIS RISE TO LEADERSHIP

The upward line of his meteoric career in India began with his organization of the All-India *Swaraj Sabha* (Self-Government Society), the existence of which, under Gandhi's Presidency, made him a force to be reckoned with. The power of his personality became evident in December, 1920, at the Nagpur Indian National Congress, when he succeeded in changing the constitution of the Congress, and in making it adopt his so-called "non-co-operative" movement, said to be inspired by the teachings of Leo Tolstoy; the method of warfare adopted by this movement is that of passive resistance, chiefly by boycotting all British titles, British employments, British schools and colleges, and British merchandise.

With the launching of this movement the issue became clearly defined. Great Britain had drafted a scheme of gradual evolution toward the ideal of Home Rule. That plan was now imperiled by popular demands for complete separation from the empire—under the leadership of this Hindu ascetic, whose monk-like, Messianic personality, combined with a dangerously eloquent power of oratory, soon gained a strong hold on the imagination of the Indian populace,

to whom his appeal was especially addressed.

For months Gandhi's activities have been reported in the British press, and his name has become almost as familiar to the British public as that of Lloyd George. In India the Nationalist leader's life has been



MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
Leader of the movement against British rule
in India

a continual pilgrimage from place to place, from village to village, and the fiery breath of his eloquence has left behind it an arid waste of non-co-operation. The name of Gandhi today is an open threat against British rule. This threat has been reinforced by his alliance with the Indian Moslems, represented by such leaders as Shaukat Ali, whose belief lies wholly in the sword. Politics make strange bedfellows. This alliance has overcome the former Moslem opposition to nationalism. The power of Gandhi's personality has also succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the low-caste Hindus, who at first showed no desire to return to the harsh and arbitrary rule of the high-caste Hindus from which the British domination liberated them.

This extreme religionist with a beguiling tongue, this ascetic who walks about like

a mendicant with bare feet and the humblest clothing, this man of mystery in dreaming India, whose whole impulse is religious, stands essentially for two things: the driving out of the British from India by passive resistance, and the complete independence of India, under a reversion to her ancient ways. A Hindu Jean Jacques Rousseau, he preaches the overthrow of all the benefits of civilization; an Indian Tolstoy, he urges the overthrow of all force. Right must triumph. If it fail, it is not Right.

Sir Valentine Chirol in an article published by *The London Telegraph* of Feb. 7, 1921, after describing the mesmeric influence of Mr. Gandhi's speeches on the Indian multitudes, and its effect in the spread of non-co-operation, describes an interview which he had with the Nationalist leader in the presence of Shaukat Ali, Gandhi's Mohammedan ally. The writer brings out vividly the contrast between Shaukat Ali's "great burly figure and heavy jowl, his loud voice and truculent manner, and even his more opulent robes, embroidered with the Turkish crescent," and "the slight, ascetic frame and mobile features of the Hindu dreamer, draped in the simple folds of his white homespun." Mr. Gandhi's views were described as follows:

With a perfect command of accurate and lucid English, and in a voice as persuasive as his whole manner is gentleness itself, he explains, more in pity than in anger, that India has at last recovered her own soul. * * * Not, however, by violence, but by her unique "soul-force" would she attain to *Swaraj* (home rule), and, purged of the degrading influences of British rule and Western civilization, return to the ancient ways of Vedic wisdom, and to the peace which was hers before alien domination divided and exploited her people.

Sir Valentine asked him whether his doctrine of non-co-operation would not prove a destructive rather than a constructive force.

"No," he rejoined, and I think I can convey only his words accurately, but not his curious smile, as of one who feels compassion for the incurable skepticism of one in the outer darkness. "No, I destroy nothing that I do not at once replace. Let your law courts, with their cumbersome and ruinous machinery and their ancient jurisprudence, disappear, and India will set up her old *panchayats*, in which justice will be dispensed in accordance with her inner conscience. For your schools and colleges, upon which lakhs of rupees have been wasted in

bricks and mortar, and ponderous buildings which weigh as heavily upon our boys as the educational processes by which you reduce their souls to slavery, we will give them, as of old, the shaded groves open to God's air and light; where they will gather round their *gurus* to listen to the learning of our forefathers, that will make free men of them once more."

Asked if the fundamental antagonism between Hindu and Mohammedan would not store up trouble for the future, Mr. Gandhi pointed to Shaikat Ali, and said:

Has any cloud ever arisen between my brother Shaikat Ali and myself during the months we have now lived and worked together? Yet he is a stanch Mohammedan and I a devout Hindu. He is a meat-eater and I a vegetarian. He believes in the sword; I condemn all violence. What do such differences matter between two men in both of whom the heart of India beats in unison?

EXTREME TOLSTOYISM

A more intimate portrait was drawn by Perceval Landon in The London Daily Telegraph of Feb. 5:

Seated on the floor in a small, barely furnished room, I found the mahatma, clad in rough white homespun. He turned up to me, with a smile of welcome, the typical head of the idealist—the skull well-formed and finely modeled; the face narrowed to the pointed chin. His eyes are deep, kindly and entirely sane; his hair is graying a little over the forehead. [He is 51 years old.] He speaks gently and well, and in his voice is a note of detachment which lends uncanny force to the strange doctrines that he has given up his life to teach. * * * Courteous, implacable and refined, Mr. Gandhi explained to me the faith that was in him, and as he did so, my hopes of an understanding between him and the English grew less and less. The hated civilization and rule of England must go. I suggested the unprotected state of India should our work come to an end; to this he answered: "If India has sufficient unity to expel the British, she can also protect herself against foreign aggression; universal love and soul force will keep our shores inviolable. It is by making armaments that war is made. * * * If even all India were submerged in the struggle, it would only be a proof that India was evil, and it would be for the best."

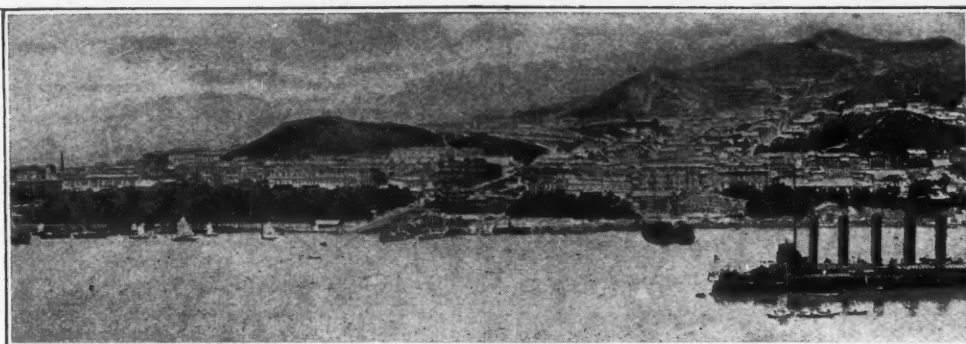
D. N. Bannersja, a Hindu author,

writing in The Adventurer (London), lays emphasis on Mr. Gandhi's "austere, puritanic life, his abstention from the merest suggestion of violent methods, his ingrained fighting spirit, which in South Africa brought Generals Botha and Smuts to their knees; his identification, in interest and outlook, with the toiling millions in factories and cotton mills, and his iron will and capacity for suffering."

Though personally opposed to the use of violence, Mr. Gandhi at the Nagpur Congress admitted that the success of his movement might involve "wading through oceans of blood." Of his fighting spirit there can be no doubt. An Indian member of the newly constituted Legislature at Delhi, writing to an English newspaper shortly after the departure of the Duke of Connaught, stated that wherever the Duke went he was followed by Mr. Gandhi—to Calcutta, to Delhi, to Bombay—and wherever the Duke's ringing words of cheer and optimism were heard, Mr. Gandhi's impassioned speeches against the hated English rule followed like a blighting and maleficent echo. In lieu of independence, said Gandhi, the Duke brought childish baubles for the Indian people to play with. Beautiful promises, flimsy insubstantiality, that was all India would ever get from Britain. Self-government, the goal of Indian desire, was already in sight if the people held firm to the formidable weapon of non-co-operation. Such was the import of the speeches made by Gandhi and his fellow-agitators to counteract the possible effect of the Duke of Connaught's mission.

Your visit [he wrote to the Duke] upholds Dyerism. Three hundred million innocent people are living in fear of their lives from 100,000 Englishmen. I oppose British rule to the bitter end.

Such is the enemy and such the situation that Lord Reading faces as the new Viceroy. The enormous difficulties of his task are evident. That the British Government does not underrate them is seen in the calibre of the man it has chosen to cope with the problem.



GENERAL VIEW OF VLADIVOSTOK FROM THE BAY WHERE THE JAPANESE TROOPS FIRST LANDED IN 1918. THE CITY IS NOW COMPLETELY UNDER JAPANESE DOMINATION
(© Underwood & Underwood)

JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN SIBERIA

By SIDNEY C. GRAVES*

Former Staff Major and Assistant to Chief of Staff of the
American Expeditionary Force in Siberia

Mr. Graves, whose father commanded the American forces in Siberia, has written this article out of his own experiences as a member of that expedition, supplemented by official records. He presents a rather startling view of the whole Japanese scheme of Asiatic control, of which the Siberian episode is an important part, with his personal convictions regarding the danger of war with the United States

International relations are quite unlike relations subsisting between individuals. Morality and sincerity do not govern a country's diplomacy, which is guided by selfishness pure and simple. It is considered the secret of diplomacy to forestall rivals by every crafty means available.—*Marquis Okuma in the Kokumin, a Tokio newspaper.*

IS JAPAN preparing for a war with America, and was her Siberian expedition the first important step toward the realization of a pan-Oriental plan calculated to make such a struggle possible and profitable? I am not a jingoist, but twenty months' intimate contact with the problem, as a staff officer of the American expedition, convinces me that such is the case. Japanese diplomatic chicanery and falsehood were successful during the period of joint occupation. The question is, Will they continue to succeed until the United States is forced to abandon the Orient or to fight at the time of Japan's choosing?

In the joint expedition to Siberia in 1918 Japanese statesmen saw an opportunity to gain control of Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Railway, and also, if not prevented by America, to shut off Russia territorially as a potential enemy. The Lansing-Ishii agreement convinced Tokio that the United States would go to no great lengths to prevent Japan's annexation of Manchuria, and perhaps of Eastern Siberia, and the Japa-

*The author of this article is a West Point graduate who served on the Mexican border and in Mexico, and who fought in France for a year as Captain of an infantry regiment, where he won various honors and the temporary rank of Major. Later he joined the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, which was commanded by his father, General W. S. Graves, and became assistant to the Chief of Staff and liaison officer to the various allied headquarters at Vladivostok. In July, 1920, he resigned with the rank of Captain, thus regaining the private citizen's privilege of publishing such facts as were in his possession.—EDITOR.

nese Government's plans, drawn up in common with independent Cossack leaders already in Japanese pay, were well laid.

THE OPENING WEDGE

It is not my purpose to give a history of the Siberian expedition except in so far as it relates to the anti-American activities of the Japanese forces, and the manner in which American diplomats were outwitted or forced to play into Japan's hands. It is well to understand, however, the purposes of the joint expedition as stated officially by the American Department of State, in July, 1918, and as reaffirmed by Tokio at that time, namely: "To assist the evacuation of the Czechoslovaks, and to render moral and material aid toward the rehabilitation of the Russian people without interference in their internal affairs." Both Governments pledged themselves to take no part in the factional strife, guaranteed the territorial integrity of Russia, and agreed to withdraw when, in the opinion of either country, the aforesaid objects had been achieved. The maximum force of each was fixed at 13,000 men; within six months Japan had 72,500 soldiers in Manchuria and Siberia, and was steadily increasing her complement.

Severe Winters and lack of development make communication difficult or impossible in Siberia except on two branches of the Trans-Siberian Railway: one running north from Vladivostok to the Amur River, and then west to Lake Baikal; and the other, or Chinese Eastern line, branching west through Manchuria to join with the first near Chita. The latter, although it passes through Chinese territory, is properly a Russian road, which, under treaty agreement, was to be guarded by Russian troops; in 1917, however, owing to Bolshevik disturbances, a large part of the guard was replaced by Chinese.

Seeing clearly that control of the railways assured military and economic domination of Eastern Siberia, Japan directed her efforts toward turning the inter-allied railway agreement of February, 1919, to her own advantage. This pact provided that a division of sectors was to be guarded by American, Japanese and Chinese troops for the benefit of the people; but any announced purpose mattered little to the Japa-

nese, who made evident their purpose to occupy permanently a strategic barrier, the nature of which will be described later in this article.

Even before the joint expedition landed, the Czechs had achieved their own security, and by 1919 the Kolchak Government was well launched in its futile effort against the Soviet, leaving the problem of Eastern Siberia to the Americans and Japanese.

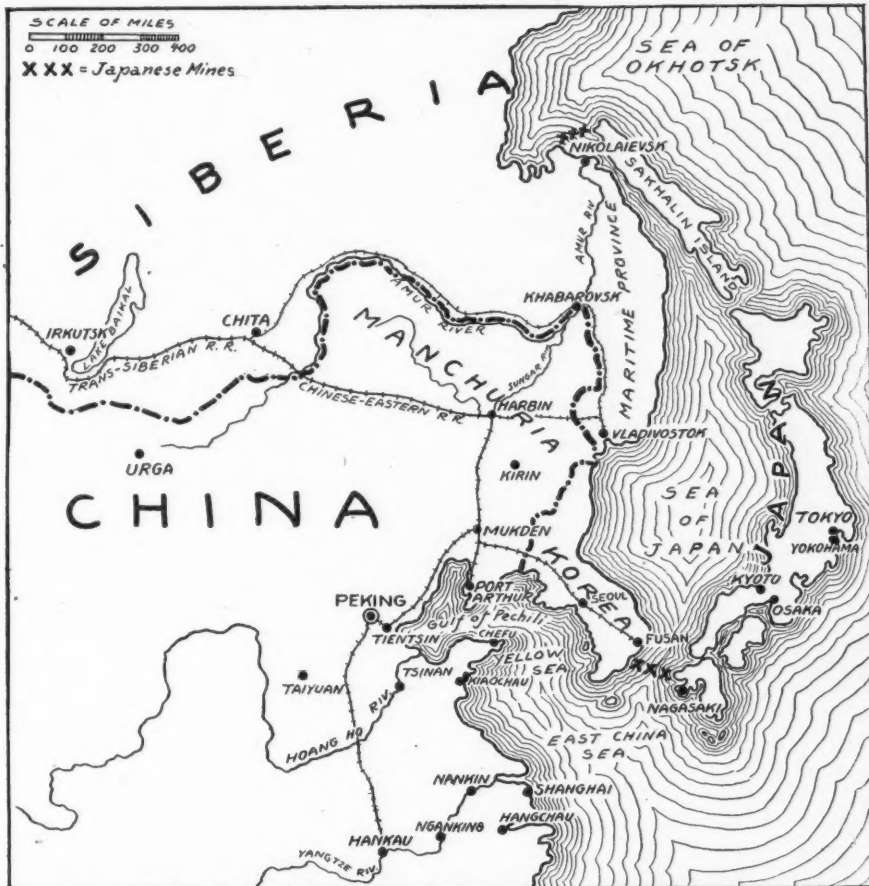
OCCUPATION OF MANCHURIA

By virtue of the Military Agreement between Japan and China, Japan demanded that Chinese troops guarding the Chinese Eastern Railway be commanded by Japanese officers, but this was refused by the Peking Government. The Japanese then moved troops into Manchuria, to occupy important points along the line; this led to several armed clashes, but the Chinese were too weak to offer any effective resistance. As a result, Manchuria is today a Japanese province, which Japan will go to war to retain.

The former anti-Bolshevist leaders—General Semenov, at Chita, and General Kalmikov, 400 miles north of Vladivostok on the Amur branch of the railway—were armed, paid and directed by the Japanese. History presents few worse examples than these Cossack "Generals," who murdered, burned and robbed at will, and whose atrocities kept all Eastern Siberia in a state of fear and revolt. The Japanese encouraged these marauding expeditions, and even sent columns of their own, under the guise of fighting Bolshevism, to shell defenseless villages and to execute many of the inhabitants.

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

Japanese Headquarters soon realized that the American Commander-in-Chief, General Graves, would not deviate from his instructions of neutrality, and consequently they initiated an anti-American campaign in an endeavor to force the United States to recall its troops. Representatives of the State Department seemed only too willing to credit Japanese assurances of non-interference, but General Graves, by preventing Japanese activities in his sectors and by reason of his knowledge of the anti-American campaign, was an obstacle to



MAP OF JAPAN AND OF THE PORTIONS OF THE ASIATIC CONTINENT NOW UNDER VARIOUS DEGREES OF JAPANESE CONTROL. THE MINE FIELDS AT THE NORTH AND SOUTH ENDS OF THE JAPAN SEA SHOW HOW EASILY JAPAN COULD GUARD HER LINES OF COMMUNICATION IN CASE OF WAR

Japan's designs which she could not tolerate. Newspapers were subsidized to create feeling against the United States among the Russian people, and Semenov and Kalmikov were paid to provoke hostilities with our troops. A typical example follows:

On Sept. 1, 1919, Kalmikov was paid 30,000 yen by the Japanese. On Sept. 5 he arrested an American officer and an enlisted man on the pretext that they were not in possession of Russian passports. As this had never been required, the arrest was illegal. The soldier was beaten almost to death with Cossack whips, and a battalion sent to effect his rescue was stopped by a Japanese force, which threatened to open fire if the Americans continued to advance. An apology tendered by the

Japanese, and later the release of the soldier by the Russians, ended the incident; but at this time General Horvat, President during the Czar's régime of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and Mr. Medvedev, President of the local assemblies or Zemstvos, both warned General Graves that Kalmikov had been instructed by the Japanese to attack our small detachments as an indication of ill-feeling of the Russians toward Americans, and as a measure calculated to provoke a sentiment for recall in the United States. In consequence of this warning, American troops were concentrated, and both the Russians and the Japanese were warned that the molestation of any American soldier would lead to an attack on Kalmikov. This effectively deterred that Cossack leader from any further overt acts.



JAPANESE INFANTRY MARCHING UP ONE OF THE WIDE AVENUES OF VLADIVOSTOK, MAY 1, 1919

Under cover of the discord created in the maritime provinces of Siberia, Japan seized the Russian half of the island of Saghalien, including the fishery rights along the coast, and forced the Chinese gunboats to leave the Amur River, which, jointly with the Russians, they had patrolled for years. All opposition on the part of the local population was ruthlessly suppressed, and only the presence of the Americans prevented a virtual annexation of Southeastern Siberia. General Rozanov, the nominal Kolchak commander at Vladivostok, sold allied cotton to the Japanese for half its value and appropriated the proceeds. The revolution in November, 1920, which was led by General Gaidar as a protest against the reactionary character of the Kolchak Government and its representatives in the Far East, was suppressed by Rozanov with Japanese support, notwithstanding proclamations of neutrality made by all the Allies.

Semenov's men, armed with rifles supplied by Japan, on some of which appeared in Spanish "Republic of Mexico," operated at will near Chita and the Manchurian border; robbed the Chinese customs, seized furs belonging to an American concern, and attempted, but without success, to appropriate a carload of rifles under American guard. These anti-American activities continued throughout the entire sojourn of our expedition, and culminated shortly before evacuation in an armed clash. An armored train with a field piece, machine guns and about fifty men was captured by thirty-

eight American soldiers after the Russians had attacked them without cause or warning. Japan has repeatedly denied her connection with these independent Cossacks, but the records of the American expedition are conclusive proof to the contrary. Recently, when the Liberal Government at Irkutsk forced the elimination of Semenov, he was taken to Japan in triumph, the lodged in a palace in Tokio.

CONTROL OF SUPPLIES

The interallied railway agreement was conceived by Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, as a sincere effort to relieve the suffering of the population of Siberia, and with a belief in the bona fide intentions of the Japanese. The latter, however, acquiesced simply because they saw in such a plan an opportunity to further their general scheme. Only such supplies were shipped as they desired, owing to the control of the terminals by their Cossack hirelings and their own control of Manchuria by the replacement of Chinese by Japanese guards along the Chinese Eastern Railway. Protests on the part of the American command were unavailing, and even the most flagrant Japanese actions were excused with the oft-repeated and absurd claim that individual acts of military representatives did not reflect the sentiment of Japan, where the military party was on the wane, or with the declaration that their

operations were necessary to prevent the spread of Bolshevism.

Our diplomatic representatives, in spite of repeated evidence of a well-thought-out plan of annexation, continued to credit such protestations and to hope that the Japanese command would change its tactics. Perhaps the irrelevant California land question, which is Japan's greatest card to meet any objections to her Oriental policy, may have again deceived Washington, but the fact remains that the Siberian expedition has given Japan all and more than she fought for in 1904; her grip on the throat of China is assured, and her imperialistic methods will make peaceful association or competition with her in the Far East by America impossible.

DEPARTURE OF AMERICANS

The inevitable collapse of the Kolchak Government inaugurated a wave of revolutionary sentiment which, for a time, threatened to overthrow the supremacy both of the Japanese and of the Russians under their control. Kalmikov was eliminated in



TYPICAL JAPANESE OFFICER IN UNIFORM AT
A RAILWAY STATION IN SIBERIA

the revolt of January, 1920, and Rozanov, at Vladivostok, escaped to Japanese Headquarters in Japanese uniform when the troops of the new Provisional Government entered the city on the 31st of the same month. Officers of the American command forced allied neutrality at Vladivostok, and the Japanese were powerless to attack elsewhere, owing to the fact that Czech and American troops were not yet evacuated from the interior, and that hostilities invited destruction of the railway which had been seized by the revolutionists at important points. Both the Czechoslovak and American Governments had ordered their forces recalled, and any attempt to destroy the Transsiberian Railway would have met with energetic action and led to an inquiry on the part of these Governments, which Japan wished to avoid. Outwardly she acquiesced in the changed conditions, but hastily increased her forces in Manchuria and Siberia to about 200,000. Five days after the departure of the Americans the Japanese attacked and decisively defeated the forces of the new Government at all points.

ABSOLUTE CONTROL TODAY

Japan has at the present time ceased to disguise her actions and intentions in Siberia, and her control of occupied territory is absolute. Vladivostok has become a Japanese city; the "Rising Sun" flies from all public buildings, and municipal administration is enforced by Japanese officials with the aid of martial law. Japan's zone of occupation embraces only the old line of Russian fortifications; that is to say, it runs along the littoral west to about 250 miles north of Vladivostok; in Manchuria, however, she has seized the whole of the railway and, in spite of Chinese objections, has garrisoned strategic points, such as Urga in Northern Mongolia. If Russia were today a united and powerful empire it is doubtful whether she could dislodge the Japanese from her territory, as a relatively small force, holding the strategic key as does Japan, would be almost invincible.

Colonization as a field for her surplus population is not an object of Japan's policy. Her own northern islands, owing to rigorous Winters, are quite sparsely settled, and Siberia and Manchuria, with their much more severe climate, are not attrac-



JAPANESE SOLDIERS AT BAYONET DRILL IN BORZA, SIBERIA

tive to the Japanese settler. The Japanese, furthermore, cannot compete with Korean and Chinese labor, and, as pointed out by Mr. Bland in the February issue of *Asia*, no efforts of Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia can keep the Chinese from inheriting the land. Korea, the Japanese population of which in the ten years since annexation has increased less than 200,000, is an example of this fact.

OBJECTS OF JAPAN'S POLICY

What, then, are the objects of Japan's policy, which has been a heavy burden on her taxpayers and is likely to remain so? It is ridiculous to assume that her only purpose is to aid the Russian people, and equally absurd to accept her pretext of checking Bolshevism in Siberia, where this movement has never existed, as in European Russia. The following interpretation, which is the opinion of many Russian military critics, and which has, in part at least, been substantiated by Japanese occupation, offers a plausible and disconcerting explanation.

Japan has long realized that the United States and Russia were the two great ob-

stacles to her abrogation of the "open door" policy, to the establishment of an Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine," and to the continuance of her Prussian methods of occupation, which make commercial competition with her impossible. England could be controlled by fear of Oriental intrigue and propaganda in India, while civil war in China, with the subsidizing of officials, could be continued to render the latter country impotent. The European war eliminated Germany and gave Japan, by virtue of the "Twenty-one Demands" and other treaties, an opportunity to assume control of Chinese affairs. Racial equality and emigration questions were used to cloud the real issues at the Peace Conference and to enable Japan to retain the territory which she had seized when the Allies were powerless to interfere. Realizing that she could never wage war on the United States with Manchuria and Korea open to Russian attack, Japan took strategic advantage of the Siberian expedition to eliminate Russia as a possible ally of the United States. A glance at the accompanying map of the Japanese Islands and the adjacent Asiatic Coast will show the powerful position Japan

will occupy in the event of war with America. Mine fields between Saghalien and the Siberian Coast, between the Japanese Islands themselves, and between Korea and Nagasaki—all narrow straits—close the Japan Sea and the railway terminals in the Gulf of Pechili to naval attack, and leave the Japanese fleet free for offensive operations.

MANCHURIA AS A JAPANESE RESERVOIR

Manchuria has been likened to the stomach of Japan, but it is more than that; it is the source from which she intends to draw her economic strength. Perhaps Vladivostok will enable her to control a large part of Siberian produce and mineral wealth in the event of changed conditions in Russia, but in Manchuria, at any rate, Japan has effectively obviated the lack of natural resources which she has long felt so keenly.

If we are to retain our interests in the Orient, many observers believe, war is

inevitable. Japanese statesmen, apparently facing that fact, have already begun to prepare. At the present time Japan is powerless to pit her strength against that of the United States, but if she is allowed to continue her oppressive methods, and to turn the wealth of other nations to her advantage, America, in a relatively short period, will face an empire almost as great as that of Germany in 1914, which will insist to the point of war that we abandon the Far East and the Western Pacific Ocean. Are we to meet this threat with continued belief in the assertions of Oriental diplomats and with complaisant acceptance of proposals for American disarmament?

AUTHOR'S NOTE—Since writing the above, information has been received that the Japanese have effected the destruction of the railway tunnels on the Trans-Siberian line near Lake Baikal, in order to prevent attack by the Chita Government, or directly by the Soviet. The American Government spent over four and a half million dollars and maintained a corps of experts in addition to the A. E. F. for the purpose of assuring the efficient functioning of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

LENIN'S LABOR SLAVES

THE discontent of the Russian trade unions and the factory workmen under the Soviet régime has become a serious problem for the Moscow dictators, and reports received in March indicated that Trotsky and Lenin had agreed to disagree on the methods to be followed in solving it. The Soviet Government's treatment of Russian labor unions has done much to alienate the sympathy of labor all over the world. A report drawn up by a foreign engineer who returned from Russia to Central Europe in December, 1920, brings out into strong relief the foundation of the Russian workers' dissatisfaction. The following passages speak for themselves:

Factory hands are exploited to an extent undreamed of in Czarist times. This is done on the principles of "labor discipline," under pretext of suppressing the prevalent laziness and carelessness. The workmen are attached to the factories, and can be sent from one to another only by orders from the Executive. They are very badly fed, sometimes receiving no more than twenty-four pounds of

bread a month, with nothing besides, so that they are always hungry. A great deal is demanded from them, and they get nothing in return. They are continually terrorized, as, owing to the militarization of labor, every man is punished very severely for desertion. The lightest punishment is confinement in a concentration barracks; the heaviest, death.

In every factory there is a Communist committee of five or six, who are nominated, and who carry on a system of espionage, control and terrorization of the other workmen. From these committees are elected the workmen's representatives at all meetings, so that the majority at meetings is always Communist. * * * Even this hard rule does not keep the ill-fed, ill-clad workmen in the factories; they make every endeavor to run away to the country and work for the peasants.

Such revelations go far toward explaining the disillusionment of European and American labor leaders who were at first inclined to favor Bolshevism. The British Independent Labor Party on March 28 decided, by 521 votes to 97, against having anything to do with Lenin's Third International.

BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC IN SIBERIA

Rise of the Far Eastern Republic at Chita confirmed by Siberian elections—Formal organization by the Constituent Assembly followed by overtures to the United States—Bitter Protest against the Japanese Occupation

A NEW State, the Far Eastern Republic, duly organized at Chita by constitutional methods, and undertaking to maintain a representative Government over the vast region of Siberia east of Lake Baikal, all the way to Vladivostok and the Pacific Ocean, formally announced its existence on March 29, 1921, through a note to the American Legation at Peking. The note asked for friendly relations with the United States, and for an exchange of trade commissioners between Chita and Washington; it affirmed the inviolability of private property, declared for free trade and the "open door," and stated that the Far Eastern Republic was specially desirous to grant mining, railway and other concessions to Americans.

Whether this new Siberian State is to be any more lasting than others that have sprung up in the last two years remains to be seen; but certain essential differences from the others compel attention. It has been established by a freely elected Constituent Assembly, not by a factional group of Soviet leaders; it has Moscow's promise of noninterference, and it has one point of absolute unanimity among its own people, namely, hostility to the Japanese military occupation. In other words, it is a buffer State between Japan and Soviet Russia, which may prove to be a very important factor in the whole Asiatic situation.

In the beginning the Chita Government was only a small local affair set up by anti-Japanese Russian Nationalists, headed by M. Krasnochekov—a former Chicago lawyer, whose real name is Tobelson, and who is now Premier of the new republic—and its lease of larger life depended upon its power to unify the people and obtain a majority of votes in a general election.

It succeeded in both of these objects. Vladivostok and the Maritime Province voluntarily subjected themselves to Chita. The general election, held on Jan. 9, 1921, created a National Constituent Assembly,

which met at Chita on Feb. 12, and proceeded at once to create a Government by democratic methods. The delegates to the Assembly were divided on party lines approximately as follows: Peasants, 160; Communists, 98; Peasants' Union, 42; Social Revolutionaries, 6; Social Democrats, 16; Buriats, 10; Siberian Social Revolutionaries, 6; People's Social Revolutionaries, 4; Koreans, 5. Effort was bent on completing a Constitution. Meanwhile serious problems confronted the Assembly, such as the critical economic and financial situation. Action to dismiss the Vladivostok Parliament was deferred, owing to the serious political situation in the Maritime Province.

The whole political complexion of the new State will depend largely on the exact amount of influence which the Bolshevik elements will be able to exercise. How that influence bulks at present is the subject of dispute. Captain Robert Rosenbluth, who returned from Siberia on March 23, cited the view of Antonov, editor of *The Red Flag*, leader of the Communist Party, and formerly head of the Provisional Government, to show that the new republic never would become communist; first, because there is no industrial population; second, because the great natural resources of Siberia offer unlimited possibilities for the acquisition of wealth, and, third, because in view of these vast resources the whole world would be justified in stepping in and supporting the aggression of the Japanese if any move were made toward nationalization or confiscation.

The Japanese press, which is following events at Chita with the closest attention, gives plain evidence that it is uncertain as to just how deeply the Bolshevik influence goes. The *Yomiuri*, in commenting on the Constituent Assembly, admitted a sincere desire among Siberian Russians to establish a truly democratic Government, and blamed the strong trend toward the left upon the activities of Semenov and the

intervention of foreign powers. The Asahi, a moderate independent organ, declared, on the other hand, that the communists were in an "irresistible majority." There were some 120 acknowledged communists, it declared, and over 100 more masking as members of the Peasant Party. Owing to this predominance, the Speaker and the ruling body of the Assembly had been elected from among the communists, and demands had already been made to found the new republic, not on the principle of democracy, but of internationalism.

Dispatches from Chita showed that both the communists and the peasants were inclined to look to Moscow for protection, so far as the intervention of the Japanese, or any other foreign power, was concerned. The leader of the Peasants' Party even went so far as to declare: "We will defend our Soviet motherland at all costs, as we are here as an outpost of the Soviet Government, and we demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops on Russian soil." The editor of *The Japan Chronicle*, a close observer of events in Siberia, confirms the view that the communists and the peasants are at present united in one policy. "The truth is," he says, "that they have one common aim which unites them as they would otherwise never have been united. They hate the Japanese, and want to get them out of the country. Mr. Krasnochekov, the Premier and Foreign Minister, says: 'Our mission lies in eliminating all possible causes of foreign intervention.' That is the one desire that unites all classes."

It became clear at the end of March that the Chita Government, whatever its final decision might be, was working in harmony with the Soviet Government, by whom its independence had been recognized. At this time it was announced that the authorities of the new republic had ceded Kamchatka to the Bolshevik rulers, and that Japan had formally protested. The concessions granted by Moscow to the American financier, W. B. Vanderlip, were said to underlie the cession, the main obstacle to which had been the rights of possession of the Far Eastern Government. The Chita Government, on its own part, was preparing to grant concessions on a large scale to foreign enterprise, and Mr. Krasnochekov at the fourth meeting of the Constituent

Assembly on Feb. 25 declared that this policy was indispensable for restoring industry. Steps were also being considered to repair the Far Eastern Railway, which, owing to the destruction wrought by the troops of Semenov, was in a deplorable condition. Soviet Russia was sending her best engineers to direct the tremendous labors involved. Mr. Shatov, the Minister of Transport, complained bitterly of the arbitrary actions of the Japanese Military Command in forbidding the sending of the railroad materials stored in Vladivostok for repairing the Siberian system, which had virtually come to a standstill.

The situation in Siberia was further complicated by a new attempt of General Semenov—the anti-Bolshevist General formerly attached to Kolchak—to begin another offensive toward the west, with the object of uniting with anti-Bolshevist elements in Siberia. This new movement was launched by his lieutenant, General Ungern-Sternberg, and was said to be formidable. In its note to Japan on Jan. 19 the Chita Government had bitterly assailed Semenov, calling him the enemy of the Russian people in Siberia, and had charged Japan with giving him support. New charges were made on the advance of Ungern-Sternberg, and the Chinese Government confirmed these by declaring that it had concrete evidence that the Semenov-Ungern combination was receiving both financial and material support from the Japanese. This the Japanese Government officially denied.

CHITA'S INDICTMENT OF THE JAPANESE

One fact stood out clearly: that the Far Eastern Republic was solidly united in opposition to the Japanese occupation. This hostility, indeed, had inspired its creation. It was dramatically expressed on Dec. 5, 1920, after the Japanese by an autocratic proclamation, dated Dec. 3, had forbidden the Maritime Province and Vladivostok to unite with the Government at Chita. At the ratification meeting, held two days later, despite the Japanese prohibition, the leader of the Cadet Party took occasion to defy Japan categorically, and to shake his fist in the Japanese representative's face.

The full story of Japan's occupation of Eastern Siberia still remains to be told.

Certain aspects of the subject, however, are brought into sharp relief in a long telegram sent on Jan. 19, 1921, by Mr. Krasnochekov to the Japanese Foreign Minister at Tokio. Relations had long been strained, and fighting between the Chita Russians and the Japanese soldiers had been continued over a considerable period. The Japanese declared that they had no intention to interfere with Russia's internal affairs, but Mr. Krasnochekov, in his telegram, declared that this pledge had not been kept, and recited, item by item, the various aggressions of which Japan had been guilty. The full text of this enlightening document, as published in *The Japan Chronicle* at the beginning of February, is as follows:

While ordering its army to occupy Russian Far Eastern territory, the Imperial Japanese Government, by its proclamation of Aug. 21, 1918, clearly stated to the Russian people and to the world that this extraordinary measure was taking place "solely for the sake of rendering assistance to the Czechoslovak army," and that, "maintaining its established policy of unqualified friendship toward Russia and the Russian people and the territorial integrity of Russia, and forbearing any interference in the internal affairs of the Government, upon the completion of the evacuation of the Czechoslovak army, the Japanese army will unconditionally leave Russian territory." The evacuation of the Czechoslovak army was successfully completed in August, 1920. Moreover, long before the completion of this evacuation, by its declaration of March 31, 1920, the Imperial Government of Japan declared that "as no other country is geographically so closely connected with Siberia as our empire, and whereas the political condition of the Far East is such as to threaten not only the life and property of our citizens living in Siberia, but also to make a breach of the peace of Korea and Manchuria, we regret to state that it will be impossible to evacuate our troops from the Far Eastern territory." Yet the Government of Japan reiterates that the presence of its army upon the territory of the Far East does not mean any political aggression against Russia. And again in this act the Government of Japan "sincerely stated that as soon as peace is established within the territory the Japanese army will immediately leave."

The same statement has been reiterated by the commander of the expeditionary army, General Oi, in his notes to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Far Eastern Republic of May 11 and Sept. 18, always expressing his sincerest desire for the speediest reunion of the separate territories of the Far East, not only as beneficial for the Russian

population, but as a condition precedent to the establishment of economic relations between the two nations. In his declaration of May 11 General Oi states literally as follows: "The Japanese command will with pleasure lead its troops out of Russian territory as soon as stable conditions are established in the Russian domains in the Far East." And again: "The Japanese command, considering the will of the Russian population, does not wish to complicate the political situation of the region by rendering assistance to individual Russians which might tend to disregard the will of the whole Russian population. The Japanese Command, together with the Russian population, is heartily welcoming establishment within the territories of the Far Eastern region of such a form of government as will conform to the people's desires." It was also plainly declared "that the above is not only the wish of the Japanese Military Command, but also that of our Government and people."

The Russian people, having lost faith in different self-styled saviors, decided upon their own volition and not at all due to demands of foreigners, to establish such order as shall make it possible once and for all for the will of the people to express itself freely in the whole area of the Russian Far East. The authorized representatives of the whole people gathered in Chita on Oct. 29, 1920, and most solemnly proclaimed the union of all the territories of the Far East into one independent self-governing Far Eastern Republic, beginning with the day of declaration of independence, namely, April 6, 1920. The same declaration laid down the first basic principle upon which the Government must be built in order to bring about law and order and peaceful development of all social forces. At the same conference a law was passed for the convening of the Constituent Assembly, and a Government was formed to bring into life the [will of] the people. All these solemn declarations were published in due time and made known to the whole world.

Two months have passed since the establishment of the Far Eastern Republic. The Government of the Far Eastern Republic is steadfastly following the road that is pointed out by the declaration of Oct. 29, 1920. The elections to the Constituent Assembly have already taken place. Within ten days the representatives of the people will be gathering in the capital of the Far Eastern Republic in order to work out a Constitution for the country and decide upon the important life problems of the Government.

The internal war which has been flickering in some parts of the country prior to the unification has died by itself. All classes of the population are earnestly striving for a peaceful life, and labor with a view to rebuilding all that was destroyed. The Vladivostok People's Assembly, laboring under extraordinarily hard circumstances,

due to intervention, and in spite of various memoranda and veiled threats by the Japanese High Command and Chief of Staff and the head of the Diplomatic Mission, has by an overwhelming majority recognized the Government of the Far Eastern Republic. These are the heroic results of the aspiration of our people for unity, their burning desire to outlive intervention. On the territory of the Far Eastern Republic that is free from intervention law and order reign supreme. The life, freedom, labor, and property of all citizens are absolutely safe. Numerous foreigners residing in the Republic enjoy the same rights as the native citizens, and their lives and property are as safe as in any other civilized country.

Concluding on the basis of the above-mentioned facts that the further coming and staying of Japanese troops on Russian territory is not only unjustifiable but absolutely harmful, the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kojevnikov, by order of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic, most explicitly brought to the attention of the Imperial Japanese Government, through the chief of the Japanese Diplomatic Mission in Vladivostok, the urgent necessity of most speedily evacuating the Japanese forces from the Far East; and he further informed it of the readiness of the Far Eastern Republic to commence negotiations with the Imperial Government of Japan with a view to concluding a treaty of everlasting friendship and of the establishment of economic relations for mutual benefit, firmly believing that there is no such problem between the Government of the Far Eastern Republic and the Imperial Government of Japan which cannot be solved by way of negotiation.

However, the Japanese army continues by force to occupy part of the territory of our Republic, thereby making life unbearable for the population of that part of the territory of the Republic on which these forces are situated.

Taking advantage of the presence of Japanese troops and their actual suppression of any and all attempts to establish order on the part of the population and their governmental organs, which suppression is contrary to all declarations, the criminal elements are doing their contemptible deeds. Russian cities and villages within the zone of intervention are enveloped in a poisonous gas, as it were, of robbery, murder, and all kinds of unspeakable crimes. Criminal persons at Grodekovo, on the Ussuri Railway, are stopping trains, searching and robbing passengers, and taking many of them off, beating them, and very often leading them away nobody knows where. These same criminals are riding in the trains without paying their fares, are forcing railway agents to give them special locomotives, and, not receiving them, are detaching engines from trains. There was one such case at Grodekovo Station on Nov.

28. They are also taking away from Russian as well as from foreign passengers silver and other belongings, which is much like open highway robbery.

The local authorities find it impossible to establish order, thanks to the opposition of the Japanese military command to the lawful authorities, and to its sympathy with the enemies of law and order. The Japanese Command by force of arms is holding back the authorities of the law from fighting with the criminals and establishing order, which means an absolute violation of the right of self-determination of the people. The sympathies of the Japanese Military Command toward the enemies of the people were most vividly expressed when it carried under its protection Semenov—this criminal and enemy of the people—through Russian territory, defying the whole Russian and foreign population, and, officially informing the former Maritime Government, as if challenging its impotence, took him to Port Arthur with a guard of honor of the army of the Imperial Government of Japan, thereby openly scorning the feelings of the free people.

This criminal is now issuing orders in which he is promising to start a new adventure in the Spring, and while he is openly proclaiming that Japan will be rendering him assistance, he is thereby arousing the population against Japan, and, by awakening an old hatred, is hindering the establishment of good neighborly relations.

The Japanese Command does not allow paymasters on their way to pay the salaries of railway servants to travel on the trains; it obstructs the movement of nearly all freight, by these means grossly and without warrant interfering with the inner life of the Far Eastern Republic.

The Japanese Command has also held up the car of the Secretary of the Military Diplomatic Mission of the former Verkhneudinsk Government, which has since become part of the Far Eastern Republic, attempting to search him and his car, thus violating the most elementary laws with regard to diplomatic representatives, as established by practice and international right. The Japanese Command also demonstrated thereby before the population, that all official Japanese declarations are mere words. Needless to say all these actions on the part of the Japanese are awakening within the minds of the Russian people doubts as to the genuineness of the solemn declarations of the Japanese Government, and force them to be on the alert.

True to the mandates of our people and being directed by the same desire, the Government of the Far Eastern Republic thinks it necessary, with a view to establish peaceful mutual relations between both countries and peoples: first, that the High Command of the Japanese expeditionary force in Vladivostok, with regard to the actions of its subordinates, should adhere to the

principle of absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of the Far Eastern Republic, and desist from rendering assistance to separate groups of the population in their internecine struggles—in this case with regard to the assistance given to the Grodekovo band; secondly, in view of the fact that the region is quiet and that a strong Government has been established, it is an appropriate time for the fixing by the Japanese Imperial Government of a definite date for the evacuation of the Japanese troops from the Far Eastern Republic.

Considering the fact that upon the territory of the Far Eastern Republic there is at present a Japanese Diplomatic Mission, the Government is kindly asking to be informed whether the Japanese Imperial Government will agree to receive our mission in Tokio upon the just principle of reciprocity, with the aim of speedily establishing political and economic relations based on such treaties as will be for the mutual benefit and friendship of both the Japanese and Russian peoples. We trust that this will speed the long-hoped-for day of mutual understanding and peaceful relations between the two peoples.

KRASNOCHIEKOV.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Far Eastern Republic.*

Chita, Jan. 19, 1920.

To this communication, so far as can be learned, the Japanese Government has made no reply. A bitter and outspoken article in the *Tribuna* (described as an organ of the Chita Government), called attention, at the end of February, to Japan's ignoring of the communication from Chita, and declared that in consequence the Siberian authorities were prevented from taking such measures as they deemed fit for the restoration of peace and order in the Maritime Province. The situation in the Japanese zone of occupation was described as deplorable. Russians were being slain daily by the Japanese troops; many of the inhabitants had abandoned their homes, schools had been closed, public offices abolished, criminals could not be arrested owing to Japanese interference, and the general result was anarchy.

In addition to its other troubles, the Maritime Province was threatened with the complete breakdown of all civil administration, as the Vladivostok authorities had reached the end of their gold reserve, and had no

means of paying the 2,000 or more officials, who were facing starvation with their families. The tense situation between Japan and the Chita Government was becoming more strained because of Japan's demand on the Chita Government through Vladivostok on behalf of the rights of Japanese fishermen along the coast. The Chita authorities were playing for time, while protesting against the severity of Japan's demands. Meanwhile the Japanese were at loggerheads with the Interallied Railway Committee over the question of whether Russian rolling stock should be removed, Japan's attitude being that she had the right to prohibit this in order to secure the safety of her military; the commission, however, overruled this by a decision taken shortly before Feb. 24.

An attempt of the anti-Bolshevist elements to gain control of Vladivostok on March 31 proved abortive. The fighting of the insurgents, united with the remnants of the forces of General Kappel, another Kolchak commander, had not proceeded very long before officials of the Japanese garrison ordered the belligerents to cease firing and disarm. This intervention proved effective, and the beginning of April saw quiet restored.

Study of the whole Siberian situation shows that the Japanese are hated by all Russians, whether of the Bolshevist or non-Bolshevist factions; that the Russians are determined to drive them out of the country, and that the Japanese are making every effort to maintain their domination. The Chita army in the Maritime Province is said to number 150,000 bayonets. The Chita Government and the Japanese alike disclaim aggressive intentions, but the play of hostile forces is such that the danger of a sudden explosion cannot be denied. The recent seizure by the Japanese of new Russian territory, and their action in taking possession of the Kamchatka fishing waters, have increased this danger. Only time can tell what the outcome of this complex situation will be.

THE FATE OF PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA

*An interesting account, by a Vladivostok correspondent, of what has happened to the "dry" laws in Russia and Siberia since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917—Drastic supervision that proved unavailing**

THE Czar's order of prohibition, coinciding with the feverish preparations for the World War, was greeted throughout Russia with sincere enthusiasm. Never had any similar measure had better chances of success. Even those to whom it meant in some cases a mortal economic blow accepted it with quiet resignation. But hardly was the first flush of excitement over when this unanimity disappeared. People began to discover in every possible difference of class, position, profession, &c., a valid reason to change their attitude. This tendency, for example, ran through the whole army, from the higher military authorities down through the officers to the men, every class inventing its own reasons why it should enjoy exemption from the law. Everybody found a sufficient and just ground for regarding himself as an exception.

The war between the popular will and the law began. Secret trade in all kinds of liquor soon flourished all over the country. In fact, it was so easy to obtain alcoholic drinks that one wondered whether the disregard of the law was not officially encouraged.

Nevertheless one distinctly salutary remarkable effect of prohibition remained. Nobody dared to appear intoxicated in public. Persons already under the influence of alcohol could obtain no more of it in any public place. Even private smugglers refrained from selling drink to such. For in case of offenders being detained by the police, they could buy immunity by indicating those who supplied them with alcohol, and the otherwise voluntarily blind authorities would act sternly in such a case. It seemed as if the public, with the tacit consent of the authorities, changed the imposed absolute prohibition to a voluntary obligation not to abuse the right to drink, not in public at least.

After the Revolution, however, it was

more the habit of four years than the vigilance of the police that maintained—as far as it maintained—prohibition. Scenes of the old times recurred, and drunken men and women in the streets became more and more numerous. The militia, as the police were now called, made hardly any effort to stop it. They had neither the will nor the means.

But at this point a new force came to the rescue of the success of prohibition. Whatever smuggling and secret trade there was in alcoholic drinks during the first four years of prohibition, it was, speaking the language of economics, only a liquidation of the large stocks that remained on hand. The uncertainty of the future of the trade, its risks, the impossibility to continue it on a large scale, forced capital of any considerable proportion to withdraw from it. The consequence was that after the old stocks had been exhausted new material could be obtained only at very high prices, and generally of very low quality. At the same time the buying capacity of the market sank rapidly. Soon it became impossible for the large majority to acquire any decent alcoholic drinks regularly. From time to time, at special festive occasions, alcohol figured on the table as a luxury, but later it disappeared even as such. The cheapest and most dangerous kinds were so bad that only very desperate alcoholics could find any taste for them. And so prohibition was now enforced not by the law, which was impotent, but by the iron severity of economic necessity.

The Bolshevik régime was officially decidedly prohibitionist. But as, in the beginning especially, money was abundantly supplied to the army, and the army was in most part stationed somewhere near

*Condensed from a somewhat longer article in the Japan Weekly Chronicle of Feb. 24, 1921, written by its Vladivostok correspondent.

the frontiers, smuggling was greatly encouraged. Later drastic measures were adopted, and the money became almost valueless. Prohibition again triumphed.

SMUGGLING IN SIBERIA

In Siberia the Kolchak Government restored the old order. Officially prohibition was upheld, but all kinds of drinks could be obtained anywhere and for reasonable prices. This was mainly due to the fact that the Siberian Railway runs near the Chinese and Manchurian border, through which it was very easy to import any quantity of liquor.

It should be remembered that Russians are perfectly satisfied in their desire for alcohol if they get vodka, i. e., a 40 per cent. alcoholic dilution. Smuggling is thereby greatly simplified, as the vodka is easily "condensed" to pure alcohol, which in turn is readily changed back into vodka by mixing it with a corresponding quantity of water.

There were, of course, numerous ways and means by which alcohol was carried across the frontier, but the bulk of the secretly imported liquor came in on the Siberian border through two principal channels and chiefly in two ways. One of these channels was the Manchurian Railway, on which hardly one male passenger traveled without being consciously or unconsciously guilty of smuggling. A most simple and sure method was adopted. The spirit was packed in very flat large or small tins, rounded so as to fit a man's breast or legs. The larger tins gave eight to ten bottles of vodka, the smaller ones two to four. Just before the train reached the border-stations Manchuria or Pogrannichnaya, the bottles, provided with convenient leather belts, were attached to the waist, breast, back or legs, under the waistcoat or trousers, or were placed under the seat-cushion, often of a fellow passenger. For those third-class passengers who went in the Winter with the typically Siberian felt-boots, special tins were prepared filling almost completely the interior of the boots.

It must have been an unusually malevolent customs official who discovered any of the tins. There would have been no end to the inspection if they did. And so round-tin fabrication became a flourishing industry which brought handsome prof-

its to the Chinese merchants of Fudyadyan (the Chinese town of Harbin).

The other chief gate of entrance for clandestine alcohol was Vladivostok and the near Korean frontier. The small Chinese boats, a large number of which were engaged in carrying fire-wood to Vladivostok, had but a few hours' sail from the point where they took the wood to and from Korea, where they could load their more precious cargo of spirit. To evade the vigilance of the Vladivostok police was an easy matter. Big wooden barrels, made to look exactly like logs of wood, could quite openly pass at any time from the vessel to the carts waiting for them. Sometimes goat-skin bags were used, which, flat and spread over the seat as if to serve as a cover, proved more handy and less expensive, but they could not carry any considerable quantity.

END OF PROHIBITION

The force of prohibition in Siberia was further weakened by the following fact: The different allied military missions and army units did not regard prohibition as binding for themselves, and were regularly supplied with their wonted drinks. As a result the sale of these to the entire population who could pay for them became uncontrollable by the Russian authorities, the missions and armies being naturally outside their jurisdiction.

After the fall of Kolchak a similar economic situation brought about the same effects on prohibition in Siberia as it did in Russia. Very few were able to afford real alcoholic drinks. The alcohol that was smuggled in from China and Manchuria was often a most dangerous mixture of ethyl with alcohol—methyl-alcohol, called *handsha*—and was palatable to the worst drunkards only.

In September last, however, desirous to obtain the revenues it was expected to yield, the Vladivostok National Assembly voted unanimously the abolition of prohibition. The shops were the next day filled with all kinds of drinks. Many feared a wild outbreak of drunkenness, but nothing of the sort happened. The depression, amounting to a crisis, which drove the Government to the step, has thus far made it impossible for the public to abuse the restored liberty.

SUCCESSSES OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviet prestige increased by signing of trade treaty with Great Britain—Moscow's attempt to obtain a similar pact with the United States is rebuffed—Suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion—Other events favorable to the Soviet leaders

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 12, 1921]

THE outstanding event of the month, from the viewpoint of the Soviet dictators, was the signing of the long-deferred trade treaty with Great Britain. Many times had the negotiations been broken off, many times had the hopes of the Moscow rulers been dashed to the ground. This was a victory for Red Russia. Nor was it an isolated triumph; the peace negotiations with the Poles at Riga, which had dragged on for months and often threatened disruption, were finally brought to a successful end. This new peace, important for Poland's future, was equally important for the Soviet Republic. The Red rulers, lastly, succeeded in entering the rebellious Neva fortress of Kronstadt, drove out the counter-revolutionary sailors who had sworn to overthrow the Bolshevik régime, and re-established completely their menaced power. Revolts in other parts of Russia still remained to be liquidated, but the general trend of events was favorable to the Soviet rulers.

The Kronstadt rebellion, which alarmed the Bolshevik rulers in its early stages, was an outgrowth of workmen's revolts in Petrograd. The whole movement started in a strike at the cartridge works in the former capital on Feb. 21, which spread on Feb. 23 to the Baltic works and then to the Laferme cigarette factory on the Vassili Ostrov (Island). Other strikers joined the men, who were besieged on the island and who were further reinforced by sailors who came up from Kronstadt on an icebreaker. Serious fighting continued until the end of February. On March 2 the sailors of Kronstadt, headed by Petresenko, a sailor of one of the Bolshevik warships, informed Petrograd of their refusal to acknowledge the Soviet rule further, and simultaneously arrested the Kronstadt commissar and chief of the fleet. Bombardments from both sides began and continued for a number of days. The Soviet forces regained possession of the

fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, across the strait, and made attacks which the besieged sailors found it ever more difficult to repel.

The size of the garrison, it appeared, had been exaggerated, as it did not exceed 16,000 men. Worn out by the strain of days of bombardment, sleepless nights, and hard fighting, the Kronstadters at last faced actual invasion by a Red Army of 60,000 men under Trotzky, which entered the city in a fog, and though driven out by machine gun fire, returned to the assault, and was finally victorious. Severe fighting occurred in the streets; the Kronstadters declared that Communist sympathizers lodged in houses harassed them with a cross-fire. Eventually the sailors were completely routed. Fully 12,000 fled across the ice to Terioki, Finland, where they became a problem for the Finnish Government. Petresenko—the sailor who headed the revolt—was the last to leave Kronstadt for Terioki. The whole uprising was subsequently explained by the Moscow officials as having been due to the attempts of Trotzky to introduce discipline among the Kronstadt sailors, who had been demoralized by the free and easy life which they had long led in their semi-isolation in Kronstadt, and whose anger was intensified by Trotzky's action in reducing their food supplies in order to compel them to accept his dictates. The Bolshevik authorities were said to have executed more than 2,000 of the insurgents who fell into their hands.

Kronstadt was announced officially to have been taken on March 17. The next day the peace treaty with Poland and Ukraina was signed at Riga. [See Poland]. After the signing, M. Dombisky, head of the Polish delegation, declared that it was Poland's desire to be the bridge between Russia and Europe. He added, however, that future relations between the two countries would depend on the way the treaty was executed. The comment of Adolph Joffe, head of the

Russian delegation, was mainly as follows: "Soviet Russia's enemies have endeavored to represent her as an aggressive State, but the signing of this treaty shows her peacefulness."

The Russo-Ukrainian-Polish frontier was defined by the treaty in such a way as to give Poland new territory; propaganda and political interference were abjured, political amnesty was granted on both sides, property taken from Poland and the Ukraine was to be returned by Russia, the Soviet power and Ukraine were to pay to Poland 30,000,000 gold rubles during the year following ratification of the treaty; Poland was released from the payment of debts of the former Russian Empire; matters regarding railway material and machinery, accounts, deposits and funds were settled, negotiations for commercial treaties and postal and telegraph conventions were to start within six weeks.

Lenin heard simultaneously of the Kronstadt liquidation and of the signing of the Riga and London Treaties on March 18. It was just after he had come from the Tenth Communist Congress in Moscow, where he had made a speech subsequently interpreted as an abjuration of Bolshevism. News of the occurrences above mentioned was greeted by a screwing up of one eye, and by the dryly humorous remark: "I fear I have become respectable." According to Captain Francis M'Cullagh, the Russian correspondent of *The New York Herald*, he then sent to the British Government the following telegram:

Agreement useless unless the British Government ceases the mistrust shown us for three years. Our best and only propaganda will be the example given the world by our economic reconstruction of Russia.

Stafford Ransome, the English author, who was Lenin's guest at Moscow, paid tribute at this time to Lenin's attitude during the trying days of the Kronstadt rebellion. His cool and humorous demeanor had prevented the panic-stricken Zinoviev, President of the Central Executive Committee, from causing a massacre in Petrograd. More important, he had spoken daily before the Communist Congress, where his position was most difficult. His numerous speeches had been remarkable in that he frankly admitted his mistakes. At the opening of the Congress on March 8, he had said:

Our internal difficulties are bound up with questions of demobilization, food and fuel. We made a mistake in the distribution of stocks of foodstuffs, although these stocks were considerably larger than in former years. The fuel crisis is due to the fact that we attempted to restore our industrial life on too large a scale. We overestimated thereby the transition from war to peace economics.

The most important question of the present moment is the relation between the working classes and the predominating section of the Russian population—the peasants. Moreover, the international situation is defined by the exceedingly slow development of the world revolutionary movement, and we in no case can consider its speedy victory a premise of our policy.

In speaking of the internal situation in Soviet Russia, it is necessary to dwell upon the events at Kronstadt. The rising organized by France in conjunction with the Social-Revolutionaries will be crushed in the next few days. Nevertheless, it forces us to consider most seriously the internal situation of Soviet Russia.

The peasants consider that they have nothing more to fear from the Czarist Generals, and that they receive too small an amount of industrial products. The peasants, therefore, consider that the sacrifices demanded from them by the State are too great. We must meet the desires of the peasants. We are introducing a food tax in kind, which will be imposed according to the means of the peasant, and will afford him a free field of action in his interests as a landowner. This tax will consume only part of the peasant's harvest. The surplus that remains in his hands he will have the possibility of selling locally. * * * The question of the "kind" tax is now the most important of Soviet policy.

During the Congress and just before it opened Lenin made five different speeches, in which he announced allegedly important changes in the policy of the Moscow Government. He recognized or feigned to recognize the impossibility of bringing about the world revolution by organized propaganda, and declared that Russia must grant concessions to foreign capitalists for the sake of fostering economic development. His proposals for internal changes were as follows:

1. More freedom must be effected in the exchange of goods among the people.
2. The peasants must be permitted to sell their farm products, and only a portion of them shall be delivered to the Soviet régime as a tax.
3. The operation and organization of smaller industries must be left to some extent to private initiative.
4. Greater freedom must be allowed to the co-operative societies.

These proposals were all adopted, though not without a conflict. The second of the measures means in effect that the Moscow Government is to abandon compulsory requisitioning of food, grain, fodder and other agricultural products; inasmuch, however, as the State still retains the grain monopoly, the peasants can dispose of their grain on a price basis only to the Government. Even so, the passing of this decision will tend to diminish the hostility of the peasants to the régime, which before they regarded purely as a predatory power.

The first item mentioned concerns one of the most fertile sources of discontent among the Russian people, namely the abolition of the free market. The whole anti-Bolshevist movement among the peasants has been in large part based on the demand for the freedom of trade. This demand the Bolsheviks have fiercely denounced as in substance a demand for freedom of speculation in food. To prevent this, the dictators established a chain of military cordons to watch all roads, and their agents searched all railway cars, carts and other vehicles, and confiscated all food which they believed intended for free sale. This control which failed to prevent much of the traffic, has now been officially removed—whether only temporarily or permanently remains to be seen. By some it is considered as a desperate but provisional expedient to save the main cities from absolute famine.

The trade agreement with Great Britain was signed in London on March 16 by Sir Robert Horne, President of the London Board of Trade, on behalf of the British Government, and by Leonid Krassin, head of the Bolshevik trade delegation, on behalf of the Moscow régime. (The full text of the pact follows this article.) Its terms forbade propaganda on either side, provided for repatriation of all war prisoners still remaining in either country, raised the blockade of Russia, sanctioned freedom of shipping, stipulated that all mines in the Baltic be cleared away, called for the admission of trade representatives and official agents, pledged the British Government not to seize Russian gold sent to cover future trade, and empowered the Soviet Government to terminate the contract if any British court decided in favor of attachment of gold or other property for debts of any preceding

Russian Government. This provision was devised to cover certain litigation to be brought as a test case in the British courts. Unless the British courts confirm the Soviet ownership of Russian gold, M. Krassin himself declared after the signing, the treaty will be useless and practically void.

At the time this trade agreement was signed a special letter was handed by Sir Robert Horne to M. Krassin, in which Great Britain categorically charged, with full details, that the Moscow Government was still continuing its subversive propaganda against Great Britain, notably in Afghanistan and other territory contiguous to India. It told who the Russian agents were and what instruments they had made use of—Hindus and Afghans, some of whom had been convicted of crime, while others had been in the pay of Germany during the war. All these activities, said the note, must cease immediately. The whole letter virtually amounted to an ultimatum.

Apart from backing the Kemalite Turks in their protest against the Sèvres Treaty, the Bolsheviks, according to Moscow advices received in London toward the end of March, hurried through negotiations with one Eastern people after another before the Trade Treaty with Great Britain was signed, in order to obtain a strong position in the East before all further activity was prohibited. Treaties were concluded with the Afghans, Bokharans, Persians and Turks. The treaty with Afghanistan, though ostensibly recognizing Afghan independence, practically turned the Afghan Government into an institution subsidized by Russia to the extent of 1,000,000 rubles yearly. The treaty with Turkey, signed March 16, confirmed the territorial frontiers claimed by Turkey under the act passed by the Turkish Parliament on Jan. 28, 1920, ruled regarding disputed territory, acknowledged Turkey's sovereignty, and released her from payment of the old debt to Imperial Russia.

It is scarcely necessary to say that France looked upon the Russo-British trade treaty with a cold and fishy eye. France's insistence that no trade with Russia was possible until Moscow recognized Imperial Russia's debts has never been modified; she has not believed that such a trade agreement would be workable. French feeling, as reflected in the press, was that the present compact would not prove practicable. —Brit-

ish reaction was one of considerable hostility. Several of the leading London papers assailed the treaty, declaring that recognition of the Soviet régime was implied by it. Vigorous onslaughts were also delivered orally in Parliament. At the session of March 22 Lloyd George defended his policy. The agreement, he said, was a purely trading agreement, not a peace compact, and recognized the Soviet merely as the Government *de facto*, which undoubtedly it was. It was an attempt to settle up some of the most important problems of the East by a mutual arrangement, in which the rights and claims of all British nationals were protected.

The letter sent by Tchitcherin to the Washington Government proposing a similar pact with the United States, and the uncompromising refusal dispatched by Secretary Hughes in reply, will be found elsewhere in this issue, under head of the Harding Administration's foreign policy.

The Russian trade delegation to Italy was less fortunate than the mission to England. The Italian authorities insisted in Rome on having the delegation's luggage examined, and the Soviet emissaries protested in the strongest terms against what they called an outrage. The baggage was found to contain many jewels and ornaments of gold and silver worth a small fortune. Italian feeling ran high against the Red envoys, as no doubt was entertained that these jewels were to be disposed of, as in England, for the purposes of subversive propaganda. A Rome dispatch of March 21 stated that the Russian delegation had broken off relations with the Italian Government—which had prepared expulsion decrees—and was intending to return to Moscow.

The draft of a German-Russian trade agreement was ready for signature on March 23.

Sporadic revolts in Kazan, West Russia, White Russia and the South continued; the Soviet Government was repressing them with a strong hand as they occurred. The Soviet's greatest difficulty, as before, was

the food question. Petrograd was in a pitiable plight. The whole situation was reviewed by the Central Committee elected by the Tenth Congress in a letter sent to all members of the party, appealing for party unity, and urging them to aid in the task of establishing closer connection with the peasants, making them understand the seriousness of the economic crisis, and the spirit of conciliation in which the measures passed by the Congress had been conceived. From the Bolshevik point of view, the most serious development in Siberia was the reported launching of new offensives by General Semenov and his anti-Bolshevik Generals. [See Siberia.]

An echo of the liquidation of General Wrangel's venture was heard on April 5, when it was reported that the situation of some 35,000 soldiers of the former Wrangel army, interned on the island of Lemnos, was becoming desperate. The soldiers complained bitterly of insufficient food and shelter. The French authorities had offered to remove most of the men to the mainland, but this offer had been accepted only by some 3,000. Other offers were likewise refused. General Wrangel, supported by all his followers, had asked the French Government to transport them to Siberia, which seemed an unlikely solution. The situation, according to the anti-Bolshevik publicist, Vladimir Bourtsev, was critical, and only lack of arms and transportation was preventing this pent-up and resentful fragment of the former army from attempting an attack on Constantinople, or engaging in some other venture equally perilous.

According to the Bolshevik's own statement, 114 revolts had occurred, 249 anti-Bolshevik plots had been discovered, 4,300 people had been executed, and 20,000 people had been imprisoned during the last six months in the twelve districts of Central Russia. Authorities on Russia believe that these figures are far below the actual facts. As they stand, they do not encourage the belief that the Bolshevik régime is solidly established or accepted in Russia.

TEXT OF THE RUSSO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

Official version of the document under which England is attempting to reopen trade with Bolshevik Russia—Nature of the concessions which Lloyd George's Government has made, and which the United States has refused to imitate

AFTER ten months' negotiations the agreement for the opening of trade relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia was finally signed in London on March 16, 1921, by Sir Robert Horne and Leonid Krassin for their respective Governments. At almost the same time the Moscow dictators succeeded in suppressing the anti-Soviet rebellion at Kronstadt and concluded several desired treaties with Asiatic Governments. Events, for the time at least, were favoring the Lenin-Trotsky régime. The trade agreement with Great Britain was especially pleasing to the Bolshevik leaders because it amounted practically to a recognition of them as the de facto Government of Russia. In England there was general distrust of the policy thus embarked upon, and Sir Robert Horne and Mr. Lloyd George succeeded in pushing the compact through only against considerable opposition both in and outside of Parliament. Their real aim was apparent in a long communication to Krassin, which accompanied the agreement, and which served notice upon the Soviet authorities that, if they did not stop their clandestine work for the overthrow of British rule in India, the new arrangement could not last. The text of the agreement is as follows:

WHEREAS, it is desirable in the interests both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between those countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary, pending the conclusion of a formal general peace treaty between the Governments of those countries by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future, that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Russian Soviet Government;

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the present agreement for the resumption of trade and commerce between the countries.

PROPAGANDA FORBIDDEN.

The present agreement is subject to the fulfillment of the following conditions, namely:

(a) That each party refrain from hostile actions or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly that the Russian Soviet Government refrain from any attempt, by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda, to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government give a similar particular undertaking to the Russian Soviet Government in respect of those countries which formed part of the former Russian Empire and which have now become independent.

(b) That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly released.

It is understood that the term "conducting any official propaganda" includes the giving by either party of assistance or encouragement to any propaganda conducted outside its own borders.

The parties undertake to give forthwith all necessary instructions to their agents and to all persons under their authority to conform to the stipulations undertaken above.

BLOCKADE RAISED.

I.—Both parties agree not to impose or maintain any form of blockade against each other and to remove forthwith all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any other foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country, or to place any impediments in the way of banking, credit and financial operations for the purpose of such trade, but subject always to legislation generally applicable in the respective countries. It is understood that nothing in this article shall prevent either party from regulating the trade in arms and ammunition under general provisions of law which are applicable

to the import of arms and ammunition from, or their export to, foreign countries.

Nothing in this article shall be construed as overriding the provisions of any general international convention which is binding on either party by which the trade in any particular article is or may be regulated (as, for example, the opium convention).

FREEDOM OF SHIPPING.

II.—British and Russian ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, shall, in ports of Russia and the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities and protections which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, visiting their ports, including the facilities usually accorded in respect of coal and water, pilotage, berthing, dry docks, cranes, repairs, warehouses, and, generally, all services, appliances and premises connected with merchant shipping.

Moreover, the British Government undertakes not to take part in or to support any measures restricting or hindering, or tending to restrict or hinder, Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation of the high seas, straits and navigable waterways which are enjoyed by ships of other nationalities.

Provided that nothing in this article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

MINE CLEARING.

III.—The British and other Governments having already undertaken the clearance of the seas adjacent to their own coasts and also certain parts of the Baltic from mines for the benefit of all nations, the Russian Soviet Government on their part undertake to clear the sea passages to their own ports.

The British Government will give the Russian Soviet Government any information in their power as to the position of mines which will assist them in clearing passages to the ports and shores of Russia.

The Russian Government, like other nations, will give all information to the International Mine Clearance Committee about the areas they have swept and also what areas still remain dangerous. They will also give all information in their possession about the mine fields laid down by the late Russian Governments since the outbreak of war in 1914 outside Russian territorial waters, in order to assist in their clearance.

Provided that nothing in this section shall be understood to prevent the Russian Government from taking or require them to disclose any measures they may consider necessary for the protection of their ports.

TRADE REPRESENTATIVES.

IV.—Each party may nominate such number of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to en-

able proper effect to be given to this Agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to sojourn and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this Agreement or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory services whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other, and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and shall have right of egress.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg, 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal and transit telegrams, and in respect of transit letter mails in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention and Regulations, and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union, respectively. The above balances when due shall be paid in the currency of either party at the option of the receiving party.

Persons admitted into Russia under this Agreement shall be permitted freely to import commodities (except commodities, such as alcoholic liquors, of which both the importation and the manufacture are or may be prohibited in Russia) destined solely for their household use or consumption to an amount reasonably required for such purposes.

OFFICIAL AGENT

V.—Either party may appoint one or more official agents to a number to be mutually agreed upon, to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities set forth in the preceding article and also immunity from arrest and search, provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this Agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by

telegraph, and wireless telegraphy in cipher, and to receive and dispatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of three kilograms per week which can be exempt from examination.

Telegrams and radiotelegrams of official agents shall enjoy any right of priority over private messages that may be generally accorded to messages of the official representatives of foreign Governments in the United Kingdom and Russia, respectively.

Russian official agents in the United Kingdom shall enjoy the same privileges in respect of exemption from taxation, central or local, as are accorded to the official representatives of other foreign Governments. British official agents in Russia shall enjoy equivalent privileges, which, moreover, shall in no case be less than those accorded to the official agents of any other country.

The official agents shall be the competent authorities to *visa* the passports of persons seeking admission in pursuance of the preceding article into the territories of the parties.

VI.—Each party undertakes generally to ensure that persons admitted into its territories under the two preceding articles shall enjoy all protection, rights, and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade, but subject always to any legislation generally applicable in the respective countries.

VII.—Both contracting parties agree simultaneously with the conclusion of the present Trade Agreement to renew exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between both countries, as well as the dispatch and acceptance of wireless messages and parcels by post in accordance with the rules and regulations which were in existence up to 1914.

VIII.—Passports, documents of identity, powers of attorney, and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this Agreement, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign Government.

NO GOLD LEGISLATION.

IX.—The British Government declares that it will not initiate any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold, funds, securities, or commodities, not being articles identifiable as the property of the British Government, which may be exported from Russia in payment for imports or as securities for such payment, or of any movable or immovable property which may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government within the United Kingdom.

It will not take steps to obtain any special legislation not applicable to other countries against the importation into the United Kingdom of precious metals from Russia, whether specie (other than British or Allied), or bullion, or manufactures, or the storing, analyzing, refining, melting, mortgaging, or disposing thereof in the United Kingdom, and will not requisition such metals.

X.—The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds or other property of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Government in the United Kingdom. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds and property in Russia. This article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the general Treaty, referred to in the preamble, of any provision dealing with the subject-matter of this article.

Both parties agree to protect and not to transfer to any claimants pending the conclusion of the aforesaid Treaty any of the above funds or property which may be subject to their control.

XI.—Merchandise, the produce or manufacture of one country imported into the other in pursuance of this Agreement, shall not be subjected therein to compulsory requisition on the part of the Government or of any local authority.

XII.—It is agreed that all questions relating to the rights and claims of nationals of either party in respect of patents, trade marks, designs, and copyrights, in the territory of the other party, shall be equitably dealt with in the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

"ARREST OF GOLD."

XIII.—The present Agreement shall come into force immediately, and both parties shall at once take all necessary measures to give effect to it. It shall continue in force unless and until replaced by the Treaty contemplated in the preamble so long as the conditions laid down in the articles of the Agreement and in the preamble are observed by both sides. Provided that at any time after the expiration of twelve months from the date on which the Agreement comes into force either party may give notice to terminate the provisions of the preceding articles, and on the expiration of six months from the date of such notice those articles shall terminate accordingly.

Provided also that if as the result of any action in the Courts of the United Kingdom dealing with the attachment or arrest of any gold, funds, securities, property, or commodities not being identifiable as the exclusive property of a British subject, consigned to the United Kingdom by the Russian Soviet Government or its representatives, judgment is delivered by the Court under which such gold, funds, securities, property, or commodities is held to be validly attached on account of obligations incurred by the Russian Soviet Government or by any previous Russian Government before the date of the signature of this Agreement, the Russian Soviet Government shall have the right to terminate the Agreement forthwith.

Provided also that in the event of the infringement by either party at any time of any of the provisions of this Agreement or of the conditions referred to in the preamble, the other party shall immediately be free from the obligations of the Agreement. Nevertheless, it is agreed that before taking any action in-

consistent with the Agreement the aggrieved party shall give the other party a reasonable opportunity of furnishing an explanation or remedying the default.

It is mutually agreed that in any of the events contemplated in the above provisos, the parties will afford all necessary facilities for the winding up in accordance with the principles of the Agreement of any transactions already entered into thereunder, and for the withdrawal and egress from their territories of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their movable property.

As from the date when six months' notice of termination shall have been given under this article the only new transactions which shall be entered into under the Agreement shall be those which can be completed within the six months. In all other respects the provisions of the Agreement will remain fully in force up to the date of termination.

XIV.—This Agreement is drawn up and signed in the English language. But it is agreed that as soon as may be a translation shall be made into the Russian language and agreed between the parties. Both texts shall then be considered authentic for all purposes.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE.
L. KRASSIN.

RECOGNITION OF CLAIMS.

At the moment of signature of the preceding Trade Agreement both parties declare that all claims of either party or of its nationals against the other party in respect of property or rights or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former Governments of either country shall be equitably dealt with in the formal general Peace Treaty referred to in the preamble.

In the meantime, and without prejudice to the generality of the above stipulation, the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle that it is liable to pay compensation to private persons who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid. The detailed mode of discharging this liability shall be regulated by the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

The British Government hereby makes a corresponding declaration.

It is clearly understood that the above declarations in no way imply that the claims referred to therein will have preferential treatment in the aforesaid Treaty as compared with any other classes of claims which are to be dealt with in that Treaty.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE.
L. KRASSIN.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE "YELLOW PERIL"

DEAN INGE, "the gloomy," in a paper read at Epsom, England, recently drew a dark picture of the results to be anticipated from the coming industrialization of Asia. Incidentally he seized the occasion to denounce both the spirit and the efficiency of the workmen of Great Britain and other white countries, declaring that the labor union policy of reducing output while trying to force up wages was creating a new "yellow peril" which would bring about the economic downfall of the West in competition with the East.

The Japanese, in their haste to make money, had tolerated a system of labor in their factories no better than that of England 100 years ago, said Dean Inge, but the ratio of wages to output all over the East gave native manufacturers an enormous advantage over the European and American producers—an advantage which showed no signs of growing less. It had been proved, he said, that under a régime of peace, free trade and unrestricted emigration, the yellow races would outwork,

underlive and eventually exterminate the whites. The result of the European, Australian and American labor movement, he declared, had been to produce a type of workingman who had no survival value, and who, but for the prohibition of immigration, would soon be swept out of existence. That kind of protection, however, rested entirely on armed force—whose last resort is war. The deterioration of labor efficiency due to present conditions would inevitably lead to the transfer of capital and business ability to countries where this efficiency was unimpaired—notably to China, Japan and India—and those countries would be industrialized on the most modern basis. This would mean eventually that Asia would capture Western markets.

The remedy suggested by Dean Inge was a great increase of production, a cessation of strikes, with a Government pledged to peace, free trade and drastic retrenchment; these measures, he believed, would restore confidence and make labor stand on its own merits.

THE RED ARMY

By COLONEL A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

Former Russian Military Attache at Washington

FROM the rapid and decisive success gained by the Red Army over the army of General Wrangel, who led the last ill-fated venture to free Russia by armed force from the Bolshevik yoke, an impression might be created on those who watched the struggle from afar that the morale of the Bolshevik fighting machine and its aggressive qualities were of a high quality. Such an impression might further be strengthened by the recent crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion by the Red forces under Trotsky. Involuntarily the foreign observer will find himself wondering whether it is possible that the Bolshevik tyranny, which has turned Russia into a land of chaos, anarchy and terror, has really been able to manifest a creative power by organizing a formidable fighting unit—the Red Army. On the surface it looks as if this were the case, but the appearances will not stand the test of facts.

It is now well known that Wrangel's defeat in the Crimea was due to his having to face an army nearly six times as large as his own. In the case of the Kronstadt rebellion the garrison which revolted at this naval base, and which held the fortress for more than two weeks, consisted at the beginning of only a few hundred sailors and soldiers; later the number was increased to approximately 15,000 by voluntary enlistment. Against this garrison the Bolshevik leaders led an armed force of about 50,000 strong. Part of the Red force, sent out across the ice to make the first assault, was composed of cadets belonging to the various Bolshevik cadet schools, the policy of which is to train youthful apprentices to become staunch supporters of the Bolshevik régime.

That the Bolsheviks have been unable to accomplish any large constructive work in the military sphere (or in any other) is fully confirmed by the available data regarding the Red Army. These data show that the Soviet Army owes its successes not to the military talents of the Bolshevik leaders, nor to the loyalty of the army's

personnel, but to the fact that the officers who once formed the backbone of the former imperial army are being kept by coercion, and, furthermore, that the Bolsheviks have adopted the methods and regulations on which depended the fighting capacity of the former imperial army. The victories won by the Red forces when they are numerically superior are undoubtedly due to the restoration of the old discipline, which the Bolsheviks at first set themselves with such zeal to destroy, and to the compelling of the old monarchist officers to apply their military training and abilities to the communist service.

There is no longer any doubt that the High Command of the Red Army consists chiefly of officers of the old régime. There are about 400 officers of the Imperial General Staff in Soviet Russia, many of whom hold high positions. Disciplinary power has been given to them, with the same right to impose punishment for infractions of regulations which they possessed in the imperial army. These officers, however, are unwilling leaders. They are serving the Soviet régime against their convictions—to avoid starvation and political persecution and to protect their families, every member of which is registered by the Bolsheviks and virtually held as a hostage.

There exists a distinct division between these old Czarist officers and the Bolshevik-trained officers. The former have even gone so far as to have separate messrooms. The Bolsheviks have been forced to yield this point, as they cannot afford to alienate the imperialist commanders, knowing full well that the Red officers are incapable, as a general rule, of holding positions above the rank of company commander. The attitude of the Red officers toward the former Czarists is somewhat similar to that of the former non-commissioned officers of the imperial army toward their superiors. As for the rank and file, their attitude toward their Red officers, especially toward those promoted from the ranks, is not friendly, owing to these officers' cruel and

oppressive treatment; their attitude toward the officers of the old régime, on the contrary, is uniformly excellent.

For war purposes the Bolsheviks use conscription to reinforce their army cadres. In the Wrangel campaign a large number of those conscripted were hostile and unwilling, and many of those who enlisted voluntarily became deserters. Voluntary recruits were negligible in number. As a matter of fact, every one in Soviet Russia is against war, and no one really wants to fight; many, however, prefer to serve in the Red Army because the living conditions of the soldiers are so much better than those of the population. A private in the Red Army receives 1,200 rubles a month plus his ration, his clothes, and an additional half of his salary for his family. The Red soldiers' reluctance to fight is evident from their avoidance of the mobilization decrees and from the number of desertions. An order issued last Fall by the officer commanding the Baltic fleet may be cited as an instance: One hundred sailors were sentenced to be shot for disobeying the mobilization order.

As for the soldiers' attitude toward the Bolshevik Commissaries, it is one of downright hostility. This was proved by the assassination of the commissary of the 30th Division in Irkutsk, by the assassination of the commissaries of the Revolutionary Council in Tsaritsin, and of members of the Extraordinary Commission in Slatousk and Kazan. It is noteworthy that although the murders took place in the presence of a great number of soldiers, the murderers could not be found.

The police system of political spying, search and persecution introduced by the Bolsheviks into the Red Army and highly developed by them, serves as the main means of subjecting the army personnel to the interests of the Bolshevik leaders. This system of "political safety," which serves also for direct propaganda, has been introduced by four parallel organs: (1) The commissaries, (2) the Extraordinary Commission, (3) the Revolutionary Tribunals, (4) the registration institutions. Of these four organs only the Extraordinary Commission is considered secret. The functions of each are as follows:

All the commissaries are under the Revolutionary Military Council in Moscow. They

are appointed to every headquarters, military bureau and unit. Every regimental commissary forms a commission around him, and from it sends out political instructors among the battalions and companies. The personnel of the commissaries usually consists of former soldiers, tradesmen and workmen; there are among them former chauffeurs, variety actors and college students (not graduated before the revolution); many are non-Russians.

The sections and sub sections of the Extraordinary Commission, which has its central bureau in Moscow, are established at the main headquarters of the staff, and at every army and division headquarters. A net of secret agents, spread all through the army, issues from these sections and subsections.

There are Revolutionary Tribunals in every headquarters, down to the headquarters of a division; they are composed of a President, a Secretary, and of the members, who are appointed from the same class of population as the commissaries. To every tribunal is attached a platoon, whose duty it is to execute the sentences. Those who receive an order to appear before a Revolutionary Tribunal seldom escape death.

The central registration organization is in Moscow, and has its offices at Army Group Headquarters, its sections at Army Headquarters, and its subsections at Divisional Headquarters. These institutions work with the intelligence branches, and their chiefs are at the same time the commissaries of those branches.

The same apparatus, as stated above, is used for propaganda purposes. For this object the communist agitators receive very definite instructions. Simultaneously an enormous quantity of literature, proclamations and appeals is issued. A pamphlet entitled "Memorandum for the Red soldier on the southern front," which was signed by Trotsky and distributed before the Bolshevik offensive in the Crimea, is a good example of such propaganda literature, with its fierce denunciations of Wrangel himself and of all other "monarchists," and its alluring picture of the prophesied benefits of reconstruction following the liquidation of the Wrangel war.

How important a part the propaganda weapon plays in Bolshevik warfare is illustrated by the instructions given to the Red agitators before the conclusion of the armistice with Poland last year. Some of these instructions were as follows:

The tactics of the comrade-agitators shall consist in compromising the Russian (anti-Bolshevik) and Polish troops, but this object must be kept secret. The task of the agitators will be as follows:

To provoke pogroms of the Jews, which are

to be followed by pogroms of the intelligentsia and of the peasants (in enemy territory).

To keep up the Polish terror by every means in the area occupied by the Poles.

To create the belief that the army of General Wrangel is composed of bandits.

To spread the opinion in the intellectual classes that not a Bolshevik, but a Brussiloff army is advancing—that it is not a communist but a republican and national army.

To make the peasants believe that all Governments except the Soviet Government collect taxes and arrears.

To enlist in the anti-Bolshevik armies and incite the soldiers there to start pogroms, to pillage and to spread terror.

To spread the assurance that the Bolshevik Government has changed, and that the Red terror no longer exists.

To sum up briefly, the Red Army resembles a regular armed force only on account of the presence in it of elements of the former imperial army—which elements are held by compulsion and made to serve the régime which they hate—and of the restoration of the disciplinary methods which prevailed under the Czar, and which, at first, the Bolsheviks sought to

destroy. Furthermore, the Red Army is kept in subjection by the Bolshevik leaders, not because it has any high degree of morale, but because of the employment of such means as secret policing, political persecution, terror, fear of death through starvation, the creation of an atmosphere of distrust and all-pervading propaganda. Such means can be effective and bear desirable fruits only for a certain time. Eventually the Russian people, finding it intolerable to continue living in such conditions of oppression, misrule and terror, will rise in a common upheaval and overthrow the Bolshevik tyranny.

When that time comes, the Red Army will be replaced by another army, one worthy of the great people from whom it will draw its vital strength, one that will be subjected to no intimidation, that will be a prey to no propaganda, that will be officered by no coerced and unwilling commanders, but by military experts loyal to a democratic and representative Government—the Russian National Army.

“BIG BERTHAS” ONLY NAVAL GUNS

THE mystery of the “Big Berthas,” as the supposed super-guns were called that shelled Paris from a distance of fifty or sixty miles, has at last been solved. The answer is simple: there were no “Big Berthas.” Paris was shelled by ordinary naval guns, the range of which had been doubled or trebled by certain scientific devices. Scores of these guns have been handed over to the Allies, and scores of others have been broken up by Germany herself. Meantime the Allies have spent much time and money trying to discover where Germany was hiding her monster guns, and the French press has been filled with fulminations demanding that she be forced to give them up.

At the end of March the allied investigators were in possession of designs showing exactly how the apparent miracle had been accomplished. The long barrel of the naval gun of 12-inch or 14-inch calibre had been made doubly strong by the introduction of a sheath which reduced the calibre to about nine inches. The breech was also reinforced by a massive steel jacket. This

made it possible to use a double charge, which, combined with modifications in the shape of the shell—made longer and more pointed, with grooves to increase the effect of the rifling—produced a phenomenal increase of range. Accuracy was sacrificed, and it is now stated that these guns often missed even such an obvious mark as Paris. There were, it appears, never more than four guns in action at one time, and more were not constructed because the Parisians refused to be terrorized by this bombardment. Despite this fortitude, however, the fact remains that 306 “Big Bertha” shells killed 250 and wounded 670 inhabitants of the French capital.

Many scars of the “Bertha” visitations are still visible on the homes and public buildings of Paris, as are also those caused by aircraft bombs. The Municipal Council of Paris does not mean to let all these scars disappear; it is planning to erect a memorial stone at each spot where a bomb or shell exploded. Such a stone has already been placed at the corner of the Rue Quatre Septembre and the Rue Choiseul.

SPEEDY END OF THE ARMENIAN AND GEORGIAN REPUBLICS

Invasion of Georgia by Russians and Turks, with a conflict between the invaders over Batum—The painful situation of Armenia

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 10, 1921]

EVENTS move swiftly in the Caucasus. At the reparations conference in Paris on Jan. 29 the four principal powers—England, France, Italy and Japan—granted what the little Caucasus Republic of Georgia, struggling to stem the Bolshevik tide, most ardently longed for, viz.: de jure recognition as an independent and sovereign State. The efforts of M. Guegetchkori, Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to induce the powers to take this long-deferred step thus were crowned with success. M. Guegetchkori, on his way home after his long sojourn abroad, was extremely optimistic about Georgia's future. His lack of suspicion of what was to occur came out strongly in the following statement:

We have hopes that our neighbors will succeed in putting their houses in order, and will establish proper relations with the whole world. I would especially point out that a correct understanding of their interests should dictate both to the Russian and Turkish Governments a policy of peace.

At this very time, as a matter of fact, the Russians and Turks were preparing to put into execution a policy of "peace," but one interpreted as a fruit of violence. The Bolshevik invasion planned at the end of January did not occur, and for several reasons: the Georgian Government discovered the plot in time and nipped it in the bud by wholesale arrests of the communist agitators who were working to make the Russian armed invasion a triumphal march. The Bolshevik soldiers, averse to heavy fighting and hearing that their comrades at Baku, in neighboring Azerbaijan, had been given the right of pillage, refused to carry out the invasion of Georgia, and many of them swung aboard trains at Baku and departed to get their share of the booty. The Moscow plotters, however, continued their plans to add Georgia to their list of subjugated Caucasian territories.

These plans were worked out with almost

automatic accuracy. Georgia, in spite of the treaty of May 3, 1920, was invaded by the military forces of the Soviet republic, and Tiflis fell on Feb. 25. First news that the jaws of the wolf were closing came on Feb. 18. Three divisions of the Bolshevik Eleventh Army, including the whole of the available Russo-Armenian Army and a considerable number of Azerbaijan Tartars, had fallen upon Georgia simultaneously from the north and the southeast, one army advancing from Sochi and Gagri, on the Black Sea; the other, advancing in Azerbaijan, had captured Salakhlu, south of Tiflis, on Feb. 16. The Georgian troops soon gave evidence of being outnumbered. Tiflis was occupied by the Red cavalry of General Budenny, after severe street fighting, on Feb. 25. Thousands of refugees fled to Kutais, where the Georgian Government set up provisionally its shattered rule.

The "explanation" officially given by the Bolsheviks was based mainly on the fact that Georgia had refused to evacuate the Bortchalu district north of Erivan, which, according to an agreement concluded in November, 1920, with the then Government of Erivan in Armenia, was to be occupied only for three months. Great stress was also laid on the fact that the Georgian Government had arrested communist agitators on its territory and confiscated property belonging to the Russian Government.

The Georgian Government vainly tried to rally its demoralized forces, to mobilize new troops and to requisition supplies. The Bolsheviks were temporarily driven out of Tiflis, but re-entered the city and there established themselves firmly. Soviet troops were pouring in on all railroads and highways leading to Tiflis. Meanwhile, the French destroyers cruising along the eastern coast of the Black Sea opened fire on the Bolsheviks at Gagri, inflicting severe losses.

The Russo-Armenians remained in possession of Bortchalu.

The next effort of the Bolsheviks was to gain possession of the important Black Sea port of Batum. Despite the fire of the French fleet, they captured Sukhum Kale, on the coast, and marched swiftly down toward Batum. At this juncture, however, the Nationalist Turks, fearful that the capture of this port by the Reds would make the Turkish occupation of Armenia impossible, ordered the Turkish Army under Kazio Kaarbekir, commander of the Fifteenth Army, already on the outskirts of Batum, to take the city, the capture of which was reported on March 10. Caught between eastern and western millstones, the Georgian Government had no alternative but to withdraw, and took temporary refuge on board a Black Sea vessel.

A curious situation then arose between the Turk and the Bolsheviks over the possession of Batum. Relations already strained by various causes were in no respect improved by the Turks' haste to capture Batum before the Red forces could reach the port. The Nationalist Turks had long turned a covetous eye on Batum; they already possessed commercial transit rights through the city under an act passed by the Turkish Parliament in Constantinople on Jan. 28, 1920. For reasons of diplomacy, however, they had deferred formulating a definite policy toward Georgia and had sent a note to Moscow stating that a conflict between the Georgians and the Reds was imminent and asking point-blank to be informed of Moscow's intentions. The request for information was ignored and the double invasion followed. The Turks declared martial law in Batum and began a general disarmament of the Georgian troops and of the population. The news of the Russian and Turkish occupations caused great despondency throughout Georgia.

Bolshevist anger, however, grew and reached the point of explosion, and despite the fact that a Turko-Russian treaty had been concluded on March 16, under which Turkey engaged to cede Batum back to Georgia, the Russians on March 19 sent a virtual ultimatum to the Turks in Batum ordering them to evacuate within forty-eight hours. In the fighting which promptly followed the Georgian troops made common cause with the Red soldiers, and after an

artillery battle and street fighting the Turks were ousted, except from a small part of the town. A Soviet Government was promptly established in Batum, which, it was said, would probably coalesce with that already set up at Tiflis. It was described as "Georgian communist, without Russian Bolshevik interference." It was composed of Makharadze, President; Mdivani, the organizer of the Armenian "revolution"; Eliava, formerly Chief Commissary of Turkestan and later nominated Ambassador to Angora, which post he had not taken; Orzhanikidze, former commander of the Reds in Azerbaijan, and Gubashivilli, said to be identical with the Commissary Stalin. The Kemalists continued to occupy part of Batum as late as March 23, despite the Georgians' efforts to dislodge them; the town was suffering from disorder and lack of food. Finally, on March 25, it was announced that the Kemalists had withdrawn altogether, in accordance with an agreement arranged between them and the Georgians by the Russian Bolshevik command.

ARMENIA—One strongly impelling motive of the Bolsheviks in seizing Georgia was, on their own admission, the alleged fact that the Tiflis Republic on various pretexts was blocking food supplies for Erivan, capital of Bolshevik Armenia. Karl Radek, one of the Bolshevik leaders, said on Feb. 20:

There are 7,000,000 poods of corn in the Kuban district which it is very difficult to bring into Russia; but, except for the obstacles raised by the Georgians, it would be very easy to pour corn into Armenia, which needs less than 800,000 poods monthly.

The Turks of Mustapha Kemal, though they had accepted the Armenian revolutionary government, maintained an attitude of hostility; their viewpoint being that Armenians, Sovietized or not, remained Armenians, and hence their traditional enemies. They looked by no means with a favorable eye on the victory of the Russo-Armenian Army in the Bortchalu region, and, as narrated above, moved swiftly to forestall the seizure of Batum by the Reds in order not to be hindered in their occupation of Turkish Armenia. In the Armenian towns of Alexandropol and Kars, which the Turks had occupied simultaneously with the Erivan Red "revolution," increasing demands were being made by the Kemalists upon the sup-

plies of foodstuffs and clothing sent by the American Near East Relief Organization for the Armenian population.

Taking advantage of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Armenia for the attack upon Georgia, and acting on the impression, it was said, that this withdrawal would be permanent, the Dashnaks (Armenian Nationalist Party) overthrew the Soviet Government at Erivan on Feb. 19. The movement, however, ill-timed and based on a misapprehension, was speedily counteracted, and after a short interval the Red régime was restored.

In London, meanwhile, Nubar Pasha, the representative of non-Sovietized Armenia, pleaded with the allied Premiers for the execution of allied promises made to Armenia before the Red invasion. After a special hearing Feb. 28, devoted to Armenia

and Kurdistan, the Armenian delegates were very much depressed. They had been closely questioned regarding the Armenian claims to part of Cilicia and to Turkish Armenia, and the allied representatives had shown a disposition to leave the question open for several months to come, until the situation in the Caucasus had cleared. Nubar Pasha's contention had been that the establishment of a Soviet Government at Erivan should not count against the establishment of an Armenian Republic on Turkish territory, inasmuch as it was more than probable that the Russian Armenians would naturally tend to form an entente with a State inhabited by their own race. The allied representatives, however, showed an attitude of considerable doubt, and the Armenian delegates left, declaring that now only America could help Armenia.

MAIN POINTS OF FINLAND'S CONSTITUTION

THE Finnish Constitution, formulated and adopted in accordance with resolutions of Parliament, was ratified at Helsingfors on June 21, 1919. This important document is shaped on the progressive lines of the present democratic era. Its announced object is to give stability to the new Finnish Republic, to expand the power of Parliament, and to safeguard the rights and liberties of all citizens. "The governmental power," says the Constitution, "belongs to the people, represented by the assembled Parliament."

The legislative power is exercised by Parliament, together with the President of the republic, who is elected for a term of six years. The President has the right of initiative in formulating new legislation. He has also the right of veto, unless Parliament, after a new election, reconfirm by a majority vote the vetoed legislation.

The general government of the nation is intrusted to a Council of State, composed of the Prime Minister and a fixed number of other Ministers. The judicial power is exercised by independent courts of justice, chief of which are the Supreme Court and the Highest Administrative Court; both of these tribunals are charged with the formulation of necessary changes in existing laws for submission to the President.

The right of suffrage is to be governed by the provisions of a law concerning presidential elections. The election of the President is to be "conducted by electors who shall be 300 in number." The electors are to be chosen by popular vote on Jan. 15 and 16, and are to assemble on Feb. 15 for the election of the new President by secret ballot. Election is conditioned on the obtaining of more than one-half of all votes cast. The President-elect assumes office on the 1st day of March and remains in power for six years.

The power of the President is limited by that of the Council of State. He must announce all contemplated resolutions in that Council, which has power to act over his head in case any Minister refuses to countersign a project as being contrary to the Constitution. A number of other checks to insure a truly democratic government are embodied in the Organic law, affecting also the Council of State. In all matters vital to the nation, including charges of treason against the President, Parliament has the final voice.

The official languages of the republic are Finnish and Swedish, corresponding to the two main elements of Finland's population. Citizens of either origin, whatever the ethnical complexion of a given com-

munity, are granted the right to use their original language in any of the national courts. The linguistic, religious, and minority rights of all citizens are assured; free speech and free assembly are granted under all normal conditions. Every citizen

injured in these or any other rights is given full power to make formal complaint against the Government officials by whom the injury is inflicted. The Constitution contains measures for the encouragement and advancement of national education.

LATVIA, LITHUANIA, ESTHONIA

Why the Vilna plebiscite was abandoned by the League of Nations in favor of a settlement by direct negotiation—Latvia's elaborate plan for giving land to all citizens

THE long awaited plebiscite to be held in the district of Vilna, Lithuania, which for months has been illegally occupied by the Polish irregular forces of General Zeligowski, has been abandoned by the Council of the League of Nations as impracticable. This decision, made early in March, was based on the hostility to the scheme shown by both disputants. Both the Poles and the Lithuanians accepted the Council's alternative proposal to settle the dispute by direct negotiation. The meetings for these discussions are to be held at Brussels under the Presidency of Paul Hymans, the Belgian representative on the League Council. The new decision was welcomed in the Vilna district, which had suffered great economic distress under the Zeligowski occupation, and which had been greatly demoralized and excited by the impending referendum.

The Court of Arbitration sitting at Riga under the Presidency of Professor J. Y. Simpson, announced its decision March 25, on the boundary dispute between Lithuania and Latvia. In accordance with the Court's ruling, the frontier, commencing at the sea, will run approximately four versts north of the Sventa along the river of that name and the administrative boundary between the Courland and Kovno Governments, with minor deflections in either direction. The readjustment of territory between the two States was to take place on March 31.

LATVIA—Regardless of outside opinion, Latvia has been making progress in its nationalization and land programs. Its whole policy has been one of centralization. The telephones, telegraphs, and railroads are now owned outright by the Government, and

even the shipping business has been nationalized. In many lines of trade and industry, the Government has either secured a monopoly or a substantial interest. A March dispatch from Riga to the Latvian Consulate in New York gave official information that the Latvian Ministry for Trade and Industry had submitted to the Constituent Assembly a bill, the passing of which was regarded as certain, permitting the Government to acquire shares in enterprises which exploit State property, provide for the defense of the State, facilitate communication, or produce goods indispensable to the population.

Latvia's land program, the main principle of which is that everybody must be enabled to own land, and nobody be allowed to own too much, has called forth formal notes of protest from most of Latvia's neighbors—from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Finland and Poland. Not only has the Latvian Government adopted it, however, but it has already worked out many of its practical details. The fundamental object of the plan is to buy back from the German owners and redistribute among the Lettish people the land which, from the Latvian viewpoint, was stolen in the middle of the thirteenth century by the invading German Barons.

The whole course of Latvian history was determined by this German conquest, for the Federal republic established by the Teutonic Order lasted until the latter half of the sixteenth century, and though Latvia's three provinces of Courland, Livonia and Letgalia after belonging to several Governments, finally passed to Russia (in the sixteenth century), the nobility and land-own-

ing class has been exclusively German, with the Lettish peasantry in complete subjection. Only at the beginning of the nineteenth century were the peasantry freed from serfdom, and not until fifty years later were they accorded the right to buy land from the nobility, who owned it all. Naturally, their landless condition inspired many revolts, which were always rigorously suppressed by the Germans and Russians.

The Russian revolution gave the Letts the opportunity they had been awaiting for centuries. On Nov. 18, 1918, they established a sovereign republic. The last attempt of the German landowners to regain possession through the notorious Avalov-Bermondts and his German-Russian army was balked by the hard-hitting Letts. Soon afterward, the Latvian Government took the bold step of expropriating all the big estates of the Baltic Barons. Faced by the alternative of nationalizing this property in Bolshevik wise, or of apportioning it among the people—at least among all who desired to own and to cultivate it—the Government decided for private ownership, and worked out the system now being put into execution.

The land law, passed recently by the Latvian Constituent Assembly, lays the foundation for a State land fund, to cover extended credit to prospective new owners without any initial payment. The law provides for the allotment of a little more than sixty acres to each landless family, decrees the sequestration of all private estates, and grants to each of the former owners land amounting to a medium-sized peasant farm. Compensation for the forfeited land is to be provided later by special legislation. This step was decided on only to save Latvia's banks from embarrassment, not because the Letts recognized any validity in the German owners' title. Most of these estates were heavily mortgaged, and the Latvian banks had in many instances used the mortgages to obtain loans from foreign banks. The Letts now hope and believe that at no distant date their rugged Baltic land will be peopled by families of farm owners, content in the knowledge that the fruits of their labors are their own, and that they are doing even more than their full share toward feeding and clothing the rest of the world.

In respect to her relations with Soviet Russia, Latvia is following the general trend now prevalent among the Baltic States:

First, peace, then trade. It was reported on March 24 from Riga that a Bolshevik Trade Commission had arrived at that city, and that its President, M. Lomov, a member of the Supreme Economic Council in Russia, had full instructions to negotiate an economic agreement. M. Osols, an engineer,



SKETCH MAP OF NEW BALTIC STATES

Chairman of the Latvian Evacuation Committee in Soviet Russia, had just returned to Latvia. He reported that the Soviet Government was endeavoring to fulfil the peace treaty signed with Latvia, and to return all Latvian possessions, including factories in Russia formerly owned by Letts. Russian opinion was extremely favorable to the return of these factories, which, it was believed, would be beneficial to Russia, inasmuch as Latvia possesses many skilled workmen, and also has all facilities for obtaining raw material from abroad.

FINLAND—Finland, under her treaty with Moscow, has entered upon possession of Petchenga in the north, and has evacuated the districts of Repola and Porajarvi. Difficulties with the Soviet Government, owing to the Finnish efforts to subject the Bolshevik commercial delegates to quarantine and other control, were slowly being adjusted, but the Finns gave every evidence that they did not intend the new treaty to be made a bridge for the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda on Finnish soil. The Govern-

ment, following its plans for general reconciliation, continued the task of freeing the majority of political prisoners concerned in the insurrection of 1918 by special amnesty—a policy which brought about a Cabinet crisis in the latter half of February.

ESTHONIA—Esthonia, elated by the decision of the Supreme Council to recognize her independence *de jure*, has now begun the work of opening trade relations with the outside world. M. Piip, ex-Premier and now Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared early in February that this recognition was a por-

tent of the greatest hope, which would do much to help the country's economic condition, inasmuch as outside nations, now that Esthonia was recognized as a legal member of the comity of nations, would be much more ready to enter into commercial relations. The unsatisfactory state of Esthonian exchange had been largely due to this lack of confidence abroad. The decision was also important in its effect on Bolshevik propaganda based on the refusal of the League of Nations to admit Esthonia to membership.

THE NEEDS OF EGYPT

Statement by PRINCE IBRAHIM HILMY

Brother of the Sultan of Egypt, and son of Ismail Pasha,
a former Khedive

In a remarkable study that appeared in the London Times of March 14, 1921, Prince Hilmy sketched the whole history of the Egyptian movement for independence, weighing the Nationalist scheme of Zaghl Pasha and the reforms urged by Lord Milner, and concluding with this lucid statement of what Egypt really needs

LET us consider what every Egyptian, with whom his country's interests stand above his own and who is at the same time conscious of the realities of life, could claim for the benefit and further development of Egypt. First of all, outward security, then honest administration, good finances, speedy administration of justice, widespread public instruction in order to raise the intellectual standard of the people and create specialists, and, finally, the right of every Egyptian to the benefits of all the country's opportunities in preference to foreigners.

Does Lord Milner's report suggest any reliable guarantees of the fulfillment of these desiderata? It starts by giving the country complete independence, a formula monopolized by the Nationalists as a means of getting into power, without asking themselves whether or not the country is apt to bear its consequences. It is indeed understood that England is to guarantee Egypt her immunity against foreign aggression, which is a point of the highest importance; but this seems to be one of the very few advantages offered us by the report. It

extols the formation of a Constitutional Government by Ministers responsible to a Chamber elected by the people, which means giving Egypt such prerogatives as are enjoyed only by the most advanced countries of the world, and leaves entirely out of consideration the fact that among the 14,000,000 of its population 92 per cent. are illiterate. (I quote the actual terms of the report.)

I would ask the British public to reflect for a moment on the kind of Parliament this immense number of illiterates would be prone to elect and on the probable results of the uncontrolled rule of such a Parliament over a country of Egypt's geographical and commercial importance. Whether or not complete independence should be given to Egypt, which is the key to the communication with the remotest possessions of the British Empire, is a question which I, as an Egyptian, am not qualified to inquire into.

It rests with the British public to weigh the consequences of so decisive a step, where the vital interests of the empire are concerned. It is indeed stated by Lord

Milner that all necessary guarantees will be provided for in the treaty to be concluded with an independent Egyptian Government. But in Egypt's present condition, could these vital interests be adequately guaranteed by a treaty? And would it not be wiser to wait until Egypt were in a position effectively to guarantee the fulfillment of a treaty signed by her? Once more I leave these questions to the sound appreciation of the British public.

Lord Milner would show that, properly speaking, Egypt never belonged to England; that she was a privileged autonomous province under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte occupied by British troops, and that it was solely through Turkey's declaring war on England that the latter was compelled by circumstances to proclaim her protectorate over the country. In my opinion by this act the position of Egypt was only changed in that England took over Turkey's rights over this country. This substitution, recognized at the outset by France and America, was eventually confirmed by all the powers who signed the Treaty of Versailles.

How else could Britain have deposed a monarch nominated by Turkey and recognized by international treaties and nominate one of her own choice in his place? On the other hand, how could she have prevented Egypt from taking part in the Conference of Paris on a par with newly formed countries such as the Hedjaz unless she felt that, Egypt belonging to England, it was for England to represent Egypt at the conference? But it must be recognized that England was generous to Egypt; in lieu of considering her merely in the light of a province under her suzerainty, she raised her to a Sultanate under her protectorate.

She can, of course, abandon her rights over Egypt and give her complete independence. Nobody would contest that point. But is this the time for doing so? I do not believe my country has as yet attained the point when she could stand alone by herself. What as sensible people we could reasonably ask of England is a wide internal autonomy, such as, from all we are taught by her colonies' history, she never will refuse to give. An autonomy similar to that of the Dominions, with certain restrictions gradually to be eliminated along with the progress of the country would, in my opin-

ion, be best suited to the mutual advantage of both England and Egypt.

I hold that in dealing with a great and mighty power, such as England, we should not ask too much. What would we do if she refused? As Egyptians, is it, indeed, the country's weal we are seeking, or are we content to delude ourselves with idle fancies? If we think of nothing but her welfare, let us ask England to be our guide, as she has been for forty years, assuring thereby our progress and our present prosperity. Let it be so until the time comes when, no longer in need of a guide, we shall be in a position to ask her to leave us to stand alone, and offer her of our own accord and as a token of our gratitude the alliance which Lord Milner advocates today.

As to the protection of the Suez Canal, this is a question of so overwhelming and so vital an importance that I could not think of discussing it. It is for English experts to study it, to weigh it carefully and to find out from what points and how it could be defended. All I could say is that, in my opinion, this could not be done either by way of El-Kantara or by way of Jerusalem.

What we should request from England is, first of all, the abrogation of the Capitulations, unjust, unfair—a veritable obstacle to liberty and progress. I cannot but agree with Lord Milner, who advocates the suppression of all Consular Tribunals and the constitution of a Mixed Tribunal, England alone being entrusted with the safeguard of the interests of foreigners. When foreigners are made subject to the same taxes and duties as the natives, commerce and industry, now centralized in the former's hands as a consequence of their exclusive position, will cease to be their privilege, and will be exercised by the Egyptians with equal success.

The old mistake of increasing the number of British officials should be discontinued; the Egyptian should be treated on the same footing as the foreigner, and when a post is open which he is capable for, he should by right have the preference for obtaining it. Public instruction should be completely reorganized, and the department's budget raised so as to enable it to create: (1) Primary schools in order to reduce the number of illiterates; (2) high schools in order to raise the standard of

education and create specialists qualified for gradually taking the posts now occupied by foreigners.

Measures should be adopted without delay to avoid the necessity of keeping, pending the time of Egypt's complete emancipation, foreign officials other than inspectors and controllers. The military school should be reorganized so as to allow the officers educated therein to attain all ranks in the army instead of limiting them to inferior grades as is now the case. Finally, democracy being the order of the day, let Egypt have her Constitutional Government, but let good care be taken to constitute an Upper Chamber of men of ability and experience, such as would constitute a wise counterpoise to the Lower Chamber.

To recapitulate, I hold, as an Egyptian, that Lord Milner's scheme, if applied in its integrity, would be disastrous to Egypt. Left to herself in her present position, not only would she make no progress, but would, I fear, run the risk of retrogression. For some short time yet she requires the direction of Great Britain in her progress to the future. The adoption of this scheme would also be detrimental to England herself: (1) On account of Egypt's important geographical position; (2) in view of

Britain's imperialistic policy with regard to her other possessions.

I will not say whether it will be worthy of a great nation such as Britain to abandon to its destiny a people on which she for forty years has been spending her noblest efforts, and which, if left to itself in its independent progress in the world, may stumble on the way.

I would not finish without addressing a few words to my countrymen, now seething with the excitement created by the propaganda of the Nationalist leaders. What are we aspiring to with regard to Egypt if we are true patriots? Is it her welfare, her salvation, or is it nothing but a fond delusion? Let us be reasonable, and let us not be lured by treacherous shadows. That which we all desire must come, and will come; but, for the present moment, are we strong enough to carry the burden? Would it not crush us? Think it over with care before launching on an adventure which might bring us great harm, not to say more. I have meditated a good deal on this matter, weighing both sides, and I feel convinced that at so momentous, so decisive a turning, it was my duty to my country to place these considerations before you.

BRITISH AID IN FRENCH REBUILDING

THE people of Great Britain, though burdened with war debts and heavy taxes, are yet finding means to help their French neighbors. Under the stimulus of a campaign led by the Central Committee of the British League of Help they are contributing large sums to rebuild houses, villages and towns in the devastated areas. More than fifty ruined communities have been "adopted" by various English cities. London has adopted the immortal Verdun, whose slogan was, "They shall not pass!" Kensington has adopted Souches; Wadsworth the town of Villers-Plouich; Manchester is raising £50,000 to resurrect Mézières; Newcastle has paid its second instalment on £20,000 subscribed for Arras; Oxford, Sheffield, Exeter, Evesham, Eastbourne, Cirencester and Birmingham are giving to the limit of their capacity to restore other French fostertowns.

Sheffield has adopted Bapaume, Puisieux and Serre, all made famous in the battle of the Somme, and in the great German drive of 1918. The sum of £5,000 has been already collected. Exeter has forwarded £2,000 to the Mayor of Montdidier to restore the water supply. Fruit trees, food supplies and goods are constantly being sent.

Apart from the organized assistance of the league mentioned, the British are also raising a special fund to restore the Rheims Cathedral. Another special fund is being raised by the Royal Agricultural Society to supply cattle for raided farms; £7,000 has already been subscribed. That the French people appreciate the generous efforts of their British neighbors is seen in the many grateful expressions in the French press.

STAMBOLISKY'S REFORMS IN BULGARIA

BY ELEANOR MARKELL

THREE small States of Europe now lead the larger States about them in reconstruction after the upheaval of the war—Belgium on the northwest, Czechoslovakia on the crest of the continent, and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Of these three, only one suffers the handicap of being a defeated State. Belgium fought with the victorious Allies and has received preferential treatment in the treaty. Czechoslovakia came into being through the action of the Entente, and has its sympathy and active help. Bulgaria, however, was forced into the war on the side of the Teutonic allies by King Ferdinand. Though suffering from defeat, from loss of her young manhood, loss of material resources in the territories taken from her, loss of direct communication on the Aegean with the outside world, loss of what she feels perhaps most keenly of all—sympathetic understanding in the West—she has accepted the situation, reorganized her Government under her new King, and gone to work, with results which are a surprise to every Westerner visiting the country.

Bulgaria lost by the war much of her richest territory. To Greece she was forced to yield Thrace, where her finest tobacco was grown, and where her two Aegean ports, Kavala and Dede-Agatch, were located; to Serbia she gave up the Strumnitza region; to Rumania, by the confirmation of the powers of the Bucharest Treaty of 1913, she surrendered the fertile lands of the Dobrudja, whence formerly one-fourth of her revenue from agriculture was derived; to Serbia and Greece—and this perhaps touches the Bulgars most keenly—Macedonia, where hundreds of thousands of her people live. Small wonder if, contrasting the Bulgaria of 1912, after the first Balkan war, with that of today, these people should feel discouraged. They have lost everything for which they have fought for six years.

And yet they are not discouraged. Facing the inevitable with all its tragedy, they have started to rebuild their new State on the ruins of the old. They have rid them-

selves of Ferdinand, and his oldest son, Boris, only twenty-four years old but keenly alive to his responsibilities, has taken his place. He told me, when I was in Sofia in September last, something of his hopes for his people, and others spoke of his active interest and participation in all affairs of State, including a protecting care for his people. No repatriated war prisoners return, they told me, who do not find their King at the frontier to meet them. He has a charm of manner which attracts all with whom he comes in contact; this, coupled with his earnest work for his people, earns for him the unanimous regard and good wishes of all Westerners, as well as of his own people.

Bulgaria has, even with her old frontiers, to which she is now confined, great natural resources and is perhaps the only State of Europe today which can be self-supporting. Her mines produce a sufficiency of coal for her needs, her fertile lands more than enough grain, cereals, sugar beets and tobacco, which in normal times she exports. Her greatest asset, however, lies in her hard-working population, 80 per cent. of whom are peasants, and nearly that number peasant-proprietors. They are hard at work today, and have already succeeded so well in bringing the production back to normal that some \$10,000,000 worth of tobacco was exported last year, part of which represented crops raised since the war. This year it is confidently expected that after supplying the needs of the country there will still be wheat and cereals for export.

The greatest menace to the State lies in the character of the present Government. It is the agrarian party, representing the large peasant population, which is in the saddle, the old experienced leaders like Malinoff, Majaroff and Guechkoff, who with Venizelos founded the Balkan League in 1912, being driven to the opposition. At the head of the Government stands Stambolisky, the peasant party's strongest man, fearless, forceful, pugnacious, filled with plans for the welfare of the State on the most advanced lines, but, like the peasantry

from which he sprang, unable to visualize the extreme difficulty of carrying them out.

An example of this is the conscription of labor law, which has been in effect since



(Times Wide World Photos)

KING BORIS OF BULGARIA
Europe's Youngest Reigning Monarch

Sept. 18, 1920. Stambolisky explained its workings to me for half an hour, and my most vivid impression when he concluded was of the almost unsurmountable difficulties to be experienced in putting the law into execution. By the provisions of this law every man and woman between the ages of 20 and 50 is obliged to work a certain length of time for the State; thus the time formerly given to military service, now forbidden by the Peace Treaty, will be turned to useful work for the country.

But Stambolisky's ideas go far beyond that. Schools are to be founded all over the State for boys and girls, who will be entered at the age of twenty, the boys for a year and the girls for six months. They will receive instruction to prepare them for the State service they will render. This instruction will be adapted to the needs of the pupil to broaden his horizon and ulti-

mately to raise the level of the entire nation. A high ideal, certainly, but the cost of putting it into force is a staggering matter for a nation already in desperate condition financially; a nation which last year found its expenditures twice the amount of its revenue quite aside from the indemnity it is expected to pay according to the Peace Treaty.

Bulgaria has passed the most drastic law regarding individual holding of land which I found in traveling through Europe. For, though Czechoslovakia has limited the



(© Underwood & Underwood)

PREMIER STAMBOLISKY
Leader of the Agrarian Party, who has made sweeping reforms

amount which can be held by one person to 150 hectares of arable land and 250 of general land (as contrasted with Hungary, which was on the eve of passing a law in August, 1920, providing for 500 hectares to each person), Bulgaria will allow to each person only what he can work with his own hands, or about thirty hectares. Bulgaria was, before the war, and is at present, a nation of small proprietors, and for that reason the majority will be unaffected by the law; but, although they are hard work-

ing, they are not thrifty, like the French, and I was told that if a man held five hectares and found the product of four would support his family, he would often let the fifth lie idle. This means that from his labor little can be expected for export, whereas the large land-owners not only raise crops for export, but also continually improve the methods of agriculture and the quality of the product.

Bulgaria's railroads have been nationalized for thirty years and very successfully run under State management; her coal mines are nationalized with less fortunate results, it being universally conceded that the operation is far more costly than necessary; certain of her banks are managed by the State, and recently the present Government has created a State-owned bank at the head of the great co-operative system, which numbers some 1,200 societies.

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate of Bulgaria's essays in legislation lies in the income tax, with its drastic impost on large incomes and practical exemption from the

operation of the law for the great agrarian element, which forms so large a percentage of the nation. The law cuts in two directions. First, it deprives the State of a much-needed income from the peasants, and, second, by its drastic tax on profitable large-scale business, it is driving foreign capital, so badly needed, from the country.

The reason the law is not amended is plain. The Stambolisky Government would not survive the placing of a tax on the agrarians, the party by whose mandate it holds office. And yet, given the financial condition which exists today, many are prophesying that the law must be amended or the State will go bankrupt.

This is Bulgaria's problem. A land of great national resources and a nation of hard-working peasants—the combination is one which, it seems, must succeed. Bulgaria has already started well toward success, but inexperienced leaders may nullify her best efforts, and bring about a ruinous economic condition, similar to that already prevailing in the rest of Europe.

TEXT OF BULGARIA'S COMPULSORY LABOR LAW

THE Bulgarian Government's famous law introducing compulsory labor was passed about the middle of the year 1920, after six months' propaganda and campaigning. The most interesting thing about the law is that it is in no sense the product of a Bolshevik or Communist Government. The experiment is due almost entirely to the initiative of the Prime Minister, M. Stambolisky, the leader of the Agrarian Party. As will be seen in the portions of the text given below, the act is modeled closely upon the military service laws common in most countries of Europe. Every Bulgarian boy must give the State twelve months' labor at the age of 20, and every girl six months' service at the age of 16. The exemption clauses, which are not reproduced below, follow closely the analogy of military service laws, exemption being granted for illness, incapacity, and the need to support close relatives. The enforcement of the act is entrusted to the Ministry of Public Works. Penalties for evasion are provided for in Chapter III,

and may extend to two years' imprisonment. That M. Stambolisky's Government has already encountered serious difficulties in its attempts to put the act into force is indicated by recent reports from Bulgaria. The more important articles of Chapter I. are as follows:

Act respecting compulsory labor service, dated June 5, 1920.

CHAPTER I.—General Provisions.

ARTICLE 1—All Bulgarian citizens of both sexes, viz., men who have attained the age of 20 years and girls who have attained the age of 16 years, shall be liable to compulsory labor service, that is, to compulsory community labor.

Note 1—Compulsory labor service shall not be required from Mohammedan girls.

Note 2—Even those who have not attained the prescribed age may be admitted to service as volunteers, viz., boys who have attained the age of 17 years and girls who have attained the age of 12 years.

ARTICLE 2—Compulsory labor service shall have the object of:

- (a) organizing and utilizing the labor power of the country for the public welfare in the interests of production and the welfare of the country;

- (b) awakening in all citizens, irrespective of their social status or means, a love of community and manual labor;
- (c) improving the moral and economic condition of the people, fostering in the citizens a consciousness of their duties to themselves and to society and instructing them in rational methods of work in all branches of economic activity.

ARTICLE 3—Compulsory labor service shall be utilized in all branches of economic activity and public welfare work: the construction of roads, railways, canals, waterworks, dams and embankments, the erection of buildings, the laying out of villages and towns, the strengthening of the banks of watercourses, the rectification of rivers, the draining of marshes, the laying of telegraph and telephone cables, the preparation of various materials for building, afforestation and the care and management of forests, the cultivation of lands belonging to the State, a district, a commune or any other public body, fruit and vegetable growing, the raising of silkworms, bees and cattle, fishing, work in mines and factories, the preserving of foodstuffs, the manufacture of cloth, linen and clothing in hospitals, &c.

These tasks shall be carried out by the competent authorities, under their direction and on their responsibility.

ARTICLE 4—Compulsory labor service shall be an individual duty. Substitution shall not be permitted. Only those persons shall be exempted from compulsory labor service who are unfit for any physical or mental work on account of the diseases, &c., specified in a schedule approved by the Council of Ministers. In addition, married women and men called up for military service shall be exempt. If any person is granted exemption from compulsory labor service under the schedule of diseases, &c., he shall pay a tax proportionate to his income and property, imposed under a special act.

ARTICLE 5—A Bulgarian citizen shall not

change his nationality or settle in a foreign country until he has completed his compulsory labor service.

ARTICLE 6—Compulsory labor service shall last for twelve months in the case of men and six months in the case of girls.

* * * * *

ARTICLE 10—In the event of extensive damage caused by the elements, national calamity, or immediate necessity, all male Bulgarian citizens between the ages of 20 and 50 years may, by a resolution of the Council of Ministers, be called up for temporary compulsory labor service, that is, to perform compulsory community labor for not more than four weeks.

This calling up shall take place in accordance with the needs of the case, by ages and by groups from communes, districts, or provinces.

Note—In this case the Council of Ministers may also call up young persons under the age of 20 years.

ARTICLE 12—At the beginning of each year the following persons subject to compulsory labor service shall receive a calling-up notice for purposes of classification:

- (a) boys who on Jan. 1 of the year in which they are called up have attained the age of 19 years, and girls who at the same date have attained the age of 15 years;
- (b) persons who have been granted postponement on any grounds whatever, and those who have not reported themselves.

ARTICLE 14—Compulsory labor service shall be rendered by men and women separately—by men, in or as near as possible to the district in which their homes are situated, unless the requirements of work necessitate their removal to a more distant place, and by women in the places where their homes are situated.

These provisions shall not apply to women teachers under the compulsory labor scheme.

[From "Studies and Reports" of the International Labor Office.]

INCREASING THE BIRTH RATE IN FRANCE

EVEN before the war France had undertaken to do something to remedy the alarming decrease in the ratio of births as compared with deaths. The act of July 14, 1913, made the relief of large families obligatory on each department (corresponding to our county), and provided for a bonus of 60 francs minimum, or 90 francs maximum, for each child. This was soon seen to be insufficient, however. Then came the war, with its enormous human losses, and the problem took on a more formidable aspect. The act of June 28, 1918, added 10 francs to the allowance granted to parents for each child, but the Depart-

mental Council of the Seine has long been striving to have the bonus increased to a maximum of 300 francs. The Budget bill for 1921 increases the allowance to 180 francs. In Paris the combined bonuses of the original act, of the State and of the municipal grants, bring the sum up to 240 francs (\$48, normal exchange). The Administration estimates that in 1921 in Paris and its suburbs there will be 18,000 beneficiaries in receipt of 24,000 allowances. The Departmental Council also is endeavoring to increase the special allowance to mothers. Special bounties are now being offered for each child in excess of two.

A BULGARIAN'S PLEA FOR BULGARIA

Mr. Mattheeff, the writer of this passionate protest, was formerly Bulgarian Minister to Greece, and was the Bulgarian Commissioner to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1905

To the Editor of Current History:

Bulgaria, conquered, reduced, impoverished, at the feet of her neighbors, her former allies, whom she led in the first Balkan war against the common enemy, is surely not deprived of the right to lay before the public the grievous wrongs she is suffering, even beyond those sanctioned by the treaty; wrongs which even the inhumane Paris treaty should forbid.

This treaty, even before its full ratification, is about to undergo a change, and in favor of a country whose past has been most condemned. Why? Because it has successfully met force by force! For Bulgaria, however, for softening the ruinous clauses of the treaty concerning her, not a word! The Bulgarian nation is the only one of the conquered nations denied the right of self-determination. This privilege is granted to Germany in Schleswig, Posenania and upper Silesia; to Austria in Carinthia, and to Turkey in the Smyrna Province.

Bulgarian territory has been arbitrarily cut up into many parts, and not a few of them have been tossed right and left, as bones to dogs, but to no part of it has the right of self-determination been granted!

Between Serbia and Bulgaria there should be peace, but peace there is none. Serbia cannot leave Bulgaria in peace. The Serbians cannot live a day without discovering or inventing something to the detriment of the Bulgarians. There are treaty clauses for strict execution by Bulgaria, but none for Serbia.

The conditions of the armistice with Bulgaria, one and all, have been violated to the injury of Bulgaria; Bulgarian territory, ceded by treaty to Serbia, was occupied and taken possession of before the term fixed by the treaty; Serbia demanded and obtained from Bulgaria railroad and machinery material long before the legal commission had met; Serbia recently stopped for more than a fortnight all traffic between the two countries because Bulgaria asked that the continuation of the delivery of such materials be postponed, in accordance with the treaty clause, until the proper commission had sanctioned it; the treaty condemned Bulgaria to deliver to Serbia 50,000 tons of coal a year during five years. The commission to sanction this delivery has not yet met; the Bulgarian Government, however, has been obliged to deliver this coal, and has been delivering it for the past six months, and now Serbia demands the immediate delivery of 30,000-odd cattle, which the treaty has laid upon Bulgaria to deliver over to Serbia. This right of Serbia's is the right of conquest. This number of cattle was adjudged to Serbia simply on her arbitrary demand, without the least consideration as to its honesty. This demand is made before the Commission of Reparations, the authority on the subject, has met.

A law was passed which substituted for the road tax the obligatory personal labor of all from 18 to 40 years of age, upon roads and public works. The application of this law required a certain degree of organization. The Serbians have seen, in the operation of this law, a phase of military strength, and have made representations to their powerful allies on the subject, and these have demanded, by note, its repeal!

Serbia has violated all the international laws in her treatment of our prisoners of war. She will give no account of the thousands missing, and is knowingly detaining some under criminal treatment. This last question regarding the prisoners of war is, happily, in the hands of two delegates, specially sent out on Bulgaria's demand, of the Geneva Red Cross. The Bulgarians do not fear, have never feared, inquiries into their conduct. They have demanded such inquiries, and still demand them with open mind and honest heart.

In none of these cases has Serbia been called to order. The weak representations made to her regarding these flagrant and willful violations of treaty clauses have been of no avail.

Serbia is the spoiled child of her powerful allies. Consider, for instance, Serbia's conduct in Montenegro, the model country of Serbia's freedom, where life, property and honor are not safe unless one has taken the oath of loyalty to the Serbian King, son-in-law of King Nicholas of Montenegro!

The Bulgarian Government has made every possible advance to Serbia for better relations with Yugoslavia; all such steps have only provoked further animosities on her part. If I speak of Serbia rather than of Yugoslavia, I do so advisedly, because it is Serbia, and Serbia alone, who is responsible for this state of things between the two countries. Recently the Czechoslovak press attempted a friendly intervention for an understanding between Bulgaria and Serbia; the Serbian press turned round savagely upon the would-be interveners and told them to mind their own business, and even threatened them.

The attitude of the Serbian press is that of a superior people toward a fallen, degraded, immoral inferior. "Yes," the Serbians say and write, "now that Bulgaria is humbled, now that the Bulgarians are sorry for their past treacherous conduct, now that they beg to be forgiven, we might take into consideration their misery and pity them; but it is too soon; they must wait." Yet all fair-minded men know that the situation is quite the opposite of the pretension in the above-cited quotation. Bulgaria's joining the Central Powers was an unavoidable consequence of the Treaty of Bucharest, and it came about because the allied powers failed to give to Bulgaria what the Bucharest treaty took

away from her—a feature of that treaty which they have undoubtedly condemned.

The Serbian mind is outrageously poisoned against everything Bulgarian. Serbia is suffering from a swollen head. Bulgaria, reduced, impoverished, disarmed, appears to have become an uninterrupted nightmare of revanche for the Serbians. Such should not be the case; Bulgaria has been rendered harmless, even to those she led to victory against the Turk, and is at Serbia's mercy; and this Serbia misses no opportunity to demonstrate.

Serbia's new ideal is undoubtedly the complete effacement of Bulgaria, the absorption of the nation into its neighbors, Serbia to take the lion's share. This chauvinistic ideal is developing inordinately, thanks to the support and protection Serbia receives from her powerful allies.

Bulgaria joined in the last war to right a wrong done her in Bucharest, to reunite the Bulgarian lands and race, unjustifiably rent asunder. Bulgaria failed because she blundered in choosing sides. The conquerors, however, have declared that in so doing Bulgaria transgressed. So be it! But is there no limit to the punishment for such transgression? Certainly the Treaty of Neuilly refuses to allow any limit to the punishment of Bulgaria!

The greatness crammed into puny Greece is

bearing its fruit. The Turks, condemned all around for generations as utterly unfit to rule, are to be benefited, the crushing terms imposed upon them by the Sèvres treaty are to be made bearable; but not a word as to the lightening of similar clauses for Bulgaria! The Greeks have proved themselves equally unfit wherever alien populations have been entrusted to their rule. The same can be said of the Serbians and Rumanians. An impartial inquiry into the conditions of rule in the alien countries allotted to them—Thrace, Macedonia, Dobrudja, Montenegro—will amply confirm this statement. Greece's unfitness to rule is as complete in Thrace as in Asia, and yet not a word of her disgorging! It is about time to deny Galileo's assertion that the world moves—or to despair of human justice.

Bulgaria asks for an unbiased inquiry, and prays that her voice be heard. She asks for an inquiry into her condition, which is doubly wretched, (1) because of the arbitrary and passion-imposed Treaty of Neuilly, and (2) because of the unjustifiable manner in which the terms of this treaty are being put into force for the sole benefit of those already excessively favored, all to the injury of Bulgaria. The claims of the Turks are being heard. Will there be no hearing for Bulgaria?

P. M. MATTHEEFF.

Sofia, Bulgaria, Feb. 16, 1921.

REVIVING THE RABBINICAL COURT AT JERUSALEM

THE opening of the Rabbinical Congress at Jerusalem for the re-establishment of the old Sanhedrim, or Rabbinical High Court, known as the Beth Din, was a great event for all Jews connected with the Zionist movement. A correspondent of a London paper, writing early in March, described it as "the greatest event since the destruction of the Sanhedrim," and the speech made by Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, at the opening session, was held to "equal in importance the first appeal of Nehemiah after the return from the Babylonian captivity." Other speeches were made in English and Hebrew. The Congress decided to elect the members of the new court, which is to be composed of eight members, four chosen from among the Sephardim (the Ladino-speaking Jews of Spain, Tunis and Saloniki) and four from

among the Ashkenazim (the Yiddish-speaking Jews of Poland and Germany). There will be two Presidents as of old, and the High Court will deal with all Jewish religious matters.

The Sanhedrim is one of the most ancient institutions of the Jewish race. It began at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, after the return from the Babylonian captivity. It was later removed from Jerusalem to Jamnia and finally to Tiberias. It enjoyed great authority under the so-called "Patriarchs of the West," until it finally came to an end under the persecution by the Romans in the fourth century. Its duties were to decide questions of religious law. Napoleon I. summoned a Sanhedrim composed of 54 rabbis and 27 laymen, under the Presidency of the Rabbi of Strasbourg; but this council was short lived.

RUMANIA IN THE NEW EUROPE

BY PRINCE ANTOINE BIBESCO

Rumanian Minister to the United States

FEW European countries—probably none of the late Allies—have been victimized by such protracted and malicious, if not always deliberate, misrepresentations before the American public as Rumania. Her very martyrdom in the World War, suffered for the allied cause and in consequence of the failure of Russian aid, has been counted up against her. But especially in the two years that have passed since ultimate victory turned the darkest period of Rumanian history into a prelude to national dreams triumphantly realized there have appeared, every now and then, allegations in the American press concerning things Rumanian that were as remote from truth as they were indefensibly unfair to a people which has proved so conclusively its loyalty to the cause championed by the American nation. It would lead too far afield to analyze the question why hostile propaganda should have had a line of less resistance to follow than in the case of other associated powers. Yet that seems to be the fact. It is all the more essential that the great American public should be awakened to the truth about Rumania.

To sum up: Rumania stands out today as the strongest State in Eastern Europe, uniting within her borders practically the whole ethnic mass of the Rumanian nation; with democracy and economic progress for her slogans, she has a reconstruction program comparing favorably with that of any other power; her possibilities of future development, cultural, moral and commercial, are unexcelled by any other country of the same size and population.

This seems a large assertion, but it can be substantiated. First, however, one must tackle the indispensable task of demolishing certain untruths and misconceptions assiduously spread by the enemies of Rumania in this country and in the west of Europe. After all, one way of stating the truth is to refute a lie. The main points raised by anti-Rumanian propagandists are as fol-

lows: That Rumania is politically and culturally a backward country ruled by a corrupt oligarchy; that Rumania oppresses racial minorities, such as the Jews and Magyars, and that she persecutes religious dissenters. It is perfectly characteristic and rather amusing that most of this slander is being circulated by Hungarian propagandists, who, themselves inmates of a most fragile glass house, are in their chauvinistic zeal utterly oblivious of the dangers of stone-throwing.

Take the first charge—that Rumania is an oligarchic country, ruled by a small group of boyars who own the land to the exclusion of the peasantry. It is true that before the war Rumania was a country of large landed estates; about four million hectares, or half the arable area, was owned by a thousand proprietors, while the other half belonged to six and one-half million peasants. Today that situation has undergone a radical change. The land reform law, one of the most thoroughgoing pieces of legislation in this particular field, assigns over 2,000,000 hectares, carved out of estates exceeding 500 hectares, to be distributed among the peasantry. In Bukovina and Transylvania the maximum size of estates is reduced even to 100 hectares. The land is, naturally, compensated for, the peasant beneficiary paying, in instalments stretched over forty-five years, 65 per cent. of the expropriation price, and the State assuming the balance of 35 per cent. The budget of 1920-21 carries an appropriation of 90,000,000 lei for the purposes of land distribution, and the work is in full swing. The peasants benefit from the reform, regardless of their race, language or religion.

The expropriation clauses apply, first of all, to land held in mortmain, under which heading ecclesiastic property is included. The Orthodox Church, being the greatest and wealthiest, suffers most heavily under the reform, but she endures the hardship, in view of the benefit to the commonwealth.

On the other hand, the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, whose membership is purely Magyar, has raised a complaint against what her spokesmen describe as a discrim-



PRINCE ANTOINE BIBESCO
Rumanian Minister to the United States

inatory measure. Echoes of this have reached the American press. The truth is, of course, that the expropriation hits all churches, and that the rich Orthodox Church suffers more than the comparatively poor Unitarian congregation. Moreover, the Magyar and Szekler peasant of Transylvania is better off today under Rumanian rule than he was under the old Hungarian régime, and certainly much better off than his brother in Hungary under the Horthy Government.

Under the old order the peasant had to take his choice between emigrating to America or drudging for an absentee landlord on terms that meant slow starvation. Today he gets land from the Rumanian State, which also redeems, at a liberal rate, his

almost worthless old Austro-Hungarian currency. He enjoys, under the Rumanian suffrage laws, more political liberty than he did in the Hungary of Tisza. No wonder the "irredentist" movement, of which Magyar sympathizers make so much, is limited to the small bureaucratic class which, incited by the ideology of a bygone age and lured by the fantastic promises of the Nationalist die-hard organizations of Budapest, emigrates to the Magyar capital and lives half-starving in box cars on the hope of the millennium.

Rumanian law insures equal rights and equal legal treatment to all citizens, regardless of race or religion. The Magyars of Transylvania may use their own language without hindrance. Whereas under the old Hungarian rule the State-controlled school was the most potent instrument for denationalizing the Rumanian population, the present Rumanian Government actually encourages the maintenance of Magyar culture in Transylvania by paying higher wages to the Magyar teacher than he received in Hungary. The schools conducted by the Magyar churches, Catholic, Calvinist and Unitarian, have been taken over by the Rumanian Government on a similar basis. There are over twice as many Magyar gymnasiums (secondary schools with Latin as principal subject) in Rumanian-ruled Transylvania as there were Rumanian gymnasiums in Transylvania under the Magyars. The University of Bucharest has a chair in Magyar language and literature. A Magyar theatrical company gave performances at the Rumanian capital in the last season; a Rumanian theatre at Budapest under the old order would have been unthinkable. Magyar newspapers imported from across the border circulate freely in Rumania, whereas Bucharest newspapers were barred from Hungary.

I am dwelling on this refutation of Magyar charges of intolerance because lately a tremendous wave of Magyar propaganda has flooded the United States. A similar wave occurred in the Fall of 1919, after the overthrow of Bela Kun, when the Rumanian troops occupying Hungary were accused of all kinds of atrocities, although in reality the Rumanians prevented and in some cases punished excesses of the Magyar White Guards. At this moment the propa-

ganda aims at fostering "irredentist" sentiment among Americans of Hungarian extraction, and at arousing distrust of Rumania among the American public at large. The propaganda among Hungarian-Americans should be a matter of grave concern, for by keeping alive old world hatreds the agitators render Hungarian-American colonies unsafe for true Americanism. Magyar propaganda in the form of pamphlets, books, maps, news letters and bulletins is flooding the editorial offices of American newspapers. Even the cables are being utilized—as when the pious wish of certain political dreamers at Budapest resulted in a dispatch from that city announcing the conclusion of a Rumanian-Polish-Hungarian alliance against Russian Bolshevism. The truth was revealed in a cable report following close upon the first, to the effect that the agreement was concluded by the Rumanian, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments as a defensive measure against Bolshevism and also by way of insuring the Treaty of Trianon. In passing I may remark here that this agreement represented a signal victory of the endeavors of Mr. Take Jonesco, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, to bring together Czechoslovakia and Poland.

To return to domestic policy: Another proof of the democratic spirit actuating the rulers of Rumania is the solution of the Jewish question. Mistakes may have been committed in the past in handling the Jewish problem, but the all-important fact is that today the emancipation, political and social, of the Rumanian Jews is complete; they enjoy full citizenship and are destined to play an important part in economic reconstruction.

In judging present-day Rumania the dominant fact to be considered is that Rumania—a country which never since its foundation has cherished plans of aggression, and whose only diplomatic conflicts up to 1913 were with Austria-Hungary because of ill treatment of Rumanians for political reasons—has today achieved her

great dream: national unity within frontiers 2,000 years old. She can afford to be magnanimous and to forget past injuries. The Rumanian people are willing to live in friendly co-operation with their neighbors, if these furnish proof of good-will and sincerity.

Speaking of economic conditions, Rumania is destined, by her natural resources, to become one of the wealthiest countries of Europe. The paramount needs of the Old World today are breadstuffs and fuel, and of both Rumania possesses a superfluity. Rumania today is actually the one wheat-exporting country in Europe, and even in normal times she would rank as the second, next to Russia. Her oil fields are the richest in Europe; her salt deposits sufficient to supply half the European demand. Recently mica mines—the only ones in Europe—have been discovered. There are coal and iron ore and gold in Transylvania. More important than the minerals—except oil—is lumber; Rumania can produce over 100,000 carloads a year. Production is rapidly being restored to normal footing, in spite of the German spoliation of machinery and rolling stock. Much of the oil machinery was destroyed by the Rumanians themselves to prevent German exploitation of the wells, and must be replaced. Rumania is the guardian of the most important inland waterway of the old world, the Danube; she is the gatekeeper of Europe at the door of the Near East, her port, Constantza, being the logical terminus of the Bordeaux - Marseilles - Milan - Venice-Belgrade-Bucharest line, succeeding to the pre-war route, Paris-Berlin-Vienna-Budapest-Sofia-Constantinople, as the channel of land traffic to the Orient.

Metternich said Asia begins at the gates of Vienna. That may be true; but, then, Rumania stands out as a European outpost of Westernism, amid surroundings sunk back to a barbarian level. The Rumanian Government and people are prepared to assume the responsibility of their victorious destiny.

SPLIT AMONG SOCIALISTS WIDENED

WITH three international political organizations striving for the support of the Socialist and Communist Parties, the prospects for the reconstruction of the world-wide Socialist International which broke down under the stress of the World War do not become any brighter.

The principal development since the split in the Italian Socialist Party over the unconditional acceptance of the Twenty-one Articles of Faith of the Third International in January was the rejection of the Moscow program by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain by a vote of 521 to 97 at its Southport convention the last week in March. The defeated Communist delegates bolted and announced their intention of joining the British Communist Party, a group of extremists numbering only a few thousands. The Independent Labor Party is regarded as the advance guard of the British Labor Party, which is still affiliated with the Second International.

Delegates from Socialist organizations from about a dozen European countries met in Vienna the last week of February and laid the foundations for a new international Socialist organization, intended to embrace the best points of the old Second International and of the Third (Communist) International. The new body did not call itself the Fourth International, but "The International Working Group of Socialist Parties," with membership open to all Socialist and labor parties not belonging to the existing Internationals. Its aim was announced as the conquest of political and economic power by means of the revolutionary class struggle, but the form of such struggle was to be dependent upon the special conditions in each country, and not upon any cut-and-dried program laid down from Moscow or any other capital.

Both the dictatorial tactics of the Third International and the overcautious attitude of the old Second International were denounced by the delegates, who included Richard Wallhead of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, Jean Longuet of the French Socialist Party, Friedrich Adler

of the Austrian Social Democracy and Robert Grimm of the Swiss Socialist Party.

Among the resolutions adopted was one calling for the immediate adoption by the various nations of plans for general disarmament. Despite the convention's opposition to Bolshevik tactics in the International labor movement, it went on record as calling upon all Socialist Parties to do all in their power to prevent intervention in Russia and to force the conclusion of peace with the Soviet Government. Just before the convention opened the Executive Committee of the Third International sent out a message from Moscow deriding the proposed new organization, labeling it the "Two-and-a-half International," and calling its organizers leaders out of jobs.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the new International, held Feb. 27, a bureau of five members, with Friedrich Adler as secretary, was elected. The other members are Grimm, Longuet, Wallhead and George Ledebour of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. The committee resolved to call upon the international proletariat to demonstrate on May Day for universal disarmament, for revision of the peace treaties and for self-determination in general.

The organizations represented at the Vienna convention were the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Socialist Party of France, the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, the Socialist Labor Party of Croatia and Slovenia, the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Social Democratic Party of Latvia, the Social Democratic Party of Austria, Poale Zion (the Jewish political labor group), the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia (Mensheviks), the Left Social Revolutionary Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, the German Social Democratic Labor Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Party of old Rumania, the Federation of Socialist Parties of Bukovina, Transylvania and the Banat, the Social Revolutionaries of Lithu-

ania and the Kunfi faction of the Socialist Party of Hungary. The delegates from Poland and Bulgaria were not admitted.

The first party to hold a convention and formally affiliate with the Vienna International was the Socialist organization of Lithuania.

The third convention of the Communist International is to open in Moscow on June 3.

Division on the economic field was increased by the formal withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor on March 8 from the International Federation of Trade Unions because the A. F. of L. officials, headed by Samuel Gompers, thought the Amsterdam body was too radical, and a de-

cision at about the same time by the Leghorn convention of the Italian Federation of Labor to do the same thing for just the opposite reason. The Italians voted, 1,355,000 to 418,000, to join the Communist International Council of Trade Unions, with certain reservations. The Finnish Federation of Trade Unions also voted to leave the Amsterdam organization. The Executive Committee of the International Metal Workers' Union, at a meeting held in Berne on March 18, declared itself in opposition to the Communist International. The first regular congress of the Communist International Council of Trade Unions was scheduled to open in Moscow on May Day.

MR. LANSING ON MR. WILSON

THE volume by Robert Lansing, former Secretary of State and delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, entitled "The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative," was published in the last week of March, 1921, and at once became a storm centre of favorable and unfavorable criticism. It was devoted almost wholly to a detailed recital of what the author regarded as President Wilson's mistakes at Paris, with the story of the strained relations which ultimately led to Mr. Lansing's forced resignation from the Cabinet.

Mr. Lansing's chief charge against the President is that he would not take advice from the Secretary of State or anybody else. When informed by Colonel House that the President was preparing to attend the Peace Conference in person, Mr. Lansing advised Mr. Wilson against that course, but his counsel was ignored. None of the members of the American delegation, says the author, were consulted during the voyage or even at Paris. They knew practically nothing of what was going on, as Mr. Wilson resorted to private meetings and secret diplomacy. According to Mr. Lansing, the President was outwitted and made the "catpaw" of shrewd European diplomats; obsessed by his lofty project of the League of Nations, he traded some of America's greatest principles for the

League. Mr. Lansing says he warned him that the American Senate would never ratify the treaty if it contained the League covenant, with Article X., guaranteeing the territorial integrity of nations attacked; but this advice, like that on every other point, was ignored, and the adviser considered himself humiliated. Mr. Lansing is especially bitter over the President's public statement that "he would not have a covenant drawn up by lawyers."

Carried away by his League project, Mr. Wilson, the ex-Secretary says, accepted the unjust mandate system entire, including the Shantung award to Japan; the latter country, he says, succeeding in "bluffing" the President with a threat to withdraw, though it had absolutely no intention of so doing. In accepting the plan of an alliance with France, adds the author, Mr. Wilson's only thought was to buy another vote for the League. The whole book was an indictment of the President, revealing a degree of incompatibility between the two men which not only explained why they had ultimately parted company, but caused many to wonder why they had not done so sooner. Newspapers throughout the country immediately devoted whole pages to the book, and it has become a centre of debate mildly reminiscent of that over the League of Nations itself.

UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE WITH BELGIUM

By NELLIE E. GARDNER

How the permanent fund was raised which now enables the young men and women of Belgium and the United States to build an educational bridge between two Nations

A PERMANENT fund has been established for the exchange of graduate scholarships and professorships between the United States and Belgium, and for the making of loans to young men and women in Belgium who could not otherwise get a university education. This fund represents the profits from the sale of foodstuffs both outside and inside of Belgium—largely accrued during the period of the armistice—under the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which continued in service until April, 1919, and of the Comité National, which was the associate organization of the American Commission, and was made up of a great number of Belgian people under the direction of distinguished Belgian business men.

After the armistice it was desirable that the system of providing mass food supplies be continued until Belgium got back on a pre-war basis. In November, 1918, approximately 900,000 people were receiving free food; the remaining 7,000,000 people in Belgium were still able to find local money with which to pay for their rations.

Under the arrangements of the Comité National the Belgians who had money had always charged themselves a small profit, which was expended in support of the totally destitute. When the armistice came the amazing industry, vitality and ingenuity of the Belgian population soon resulted in a rapid reduction of the totally destitute, so that not only was there an accumulation of profit formerly expended for the needy, but also a new profit from those whose pride prompted them to begin paying as fast as they secured employment or who were able to come again into possession of property over which they had lost control during the occupation. There was further profit made in liquidation of surplus foodstuffs and equipment.

There was never any doubt that these profits were the property of the people of

Belgium. The only question to be determined was how they were to be returned to the public. The Belgian Government expressed the desire that they be applied in some manner that would be beneficial to the people and commemorate the relief organizations of the war. A meeting was arranged by the Belgian authorities at Brussels at which the Premier, speaking on behalf of the Ministers, requested Mr. Hoover to determine the character of this operation. After study and reflection Mr. Hoover suggested that the money be used for education in Belgium. His idea was accepted and representatives of the Belgian universities were called into conference.

The sum of 95,000,000 francs was made available to enable the Belgian universities and technical schools to resume activities immediately. Further amounts as they became available after final liquidation were allocated to the permanent foundation, from which the income only would be expended. The declared object was to build a permanent bridge of fine and high relationship between the two countries. The total fund now amounts to about 100,000,000 francs, whose eventual value cannot be determined in the present condition of exchange.

Each year forty-eight exchange graduate fellowships will be granted between Belgian and American universities—twenty-four from America and twenty-four from Belgium; exchange professorships will be arranged, and approximately 2,000 young men and women of Belgium will receive aid to permit them to continue their studies.

To promote this international undertaking, the C. R. B. (Commission for the Relief of Belgium) Educational Foundation was incorporated in America, and the Fondation Universitaire was incorporated in Belgium. The American organization was incorporated in Delaware, Jan. 9, 1920, and the Belgian organization received its charter under the Belgian Government on

July 6, 1920. Both organizations are now functioning actively, and the student loans and exchange graduate fellowships are in process of allotment. The membership of the Fondation Universitaire is as follows:

Honorary President, Herbert Hoover; President, Emile Francqui; Vice Presidents, Paul Heger and Millard K. Shaler; Treasurer, Félicien Cartier; Secretary General, René Sand. Other members of the Council of Administration are: University of Ghent, Henri Pirenne, O. Vander Stricht, A. Dumoulin; University of Liège, G. Galopin, E. Malvoz, C. de Paige; University of Brussels, L. Leclère, Jules Bordet, Hippolyte Vanderryt; University of Louvain, A. Merinx, M. the Canon L. Genechten; V. Grégoire, P. Bruylants; School of Mines and Metallurgy at Mons, A. Halleux; Higher Colonial School at Antwerp, Denyn and Paul Pasteur, Père Rutten and William Hallam Tuck.

In its work for the advancement of higher education in Belgium, the Fondation Universitaire touches nearly every field. Its principal benefits include student loans—to be repaid in ten years—to worthy young men and women who could not otherwise complete their undergraduate work at institutions of higher education; graduate fellowships abroad (not to be repaid) to students whose university work was completed with distinction and who wish to devote themselves to teaching or the advancement of science in Belgium; aid to research students who wish full time to carry on experiments deemed of value to the nation's life; aid to student clubs in the university cities of Belgium; aid to institutions of higher learning in Belgium, so that they may be in better condition to carry on their educational work.

Conditions requisite to obtaining a student loan are: Belgium nationality, good character, good health, the satisfactory passing of examinations, recognized intellectual ability and lack of funds by the student or his family to provide this opportunity for higher education. The Council and the Bureau of the Fondation Universitaire supervise the granting of these loans and subsidies very carefully, and every precaution is taken to make the grant fit the case.

The minutes of the meetings of the Fondation Universitaire read like excerpts from human life. As you read the grant of 2,000 francs to Jean or Jules or Marie, you catch something of what it means to this young son or daughter of Belgium to

be able to get the education of which he or she had dreamed. And as you note the careful instructions that are printed in the circular concerning the exchange fellowships that are to be granted in American universities in the academic year 1921-22, you can visualize the zeal with which these pages are read as they are posted on the bulletin boards of the Belgian universities.

To be eligible for one of these exchange fellowships in an American university, the Belgian candidate must be able to converse fluently and write correctly in English. A Belgian circular recently received at the headquarters of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation in New York lays down these further limitations:

In general, only young men and women who are preparing for research work or teaching are eligible.

Each exchange student will indicate his preference as to the American university which he wishes to attend; the final choice will be made by the C. R. B. Educational Foundation in New York, by agreement with the Secretary's office of the Belgian Foundation; a member of the Faculty of the university which he will attend will be assigned to him as his adviser; arrangements will be made as far as possible in advance for the student's room at the university.

Students going to California will leave Belgium on July 15, 1921, and others will leave about Sept. 1.

Exchange students will plan to remain in the United States during the entire school year, to continue friendships made in America after they return to Belgium, and to use every means to aid their country and to foster friendly relations between Belgium and the United States.

The C. R. B. at Brussels has authorized the following allotments to the exchange students:

(a) 200 francs for equipment and for the journey to Antwerp.

(b) \$50 for initial expenses.

First-class passage is provided on a steamship of the Red Star Line; if the students prefer to travel second class, they may deduct the difference in price between first-class passage, and profit by this balance.

In addition, the C. R. B. Educational Foundation will remit to the exchange students at New York, the following:

(a) \$50 for general expenses.

(b) \$50 for the purchase of books and equipment.

(c) \$1,000 in four quarterly advance instalments.

(d) Adjustment for the high cost of living.

Exchange students shall render account of all money spent.

The C. R. B. Educational Foundation will meet the exchange students upon their ar-

rival at New York, will entertain them three days in the city, and will provide them with a ticket to their destination. It will pay all expenses of registration and examination, will take care of their traveling expenses back to New York, and will provide them with first-class passage from New York to Antwerp. In returning, as in going over, the students may travel second class if they prefer, and may deduct the difference.

Belgian students are urged to take with them whatever equipment they possess for working in the classroom or laboratory, and the original or a duplicate of their university diploma.

At the end of his foreign residence, each exchange student shall make a report:

(a) On his studies and work in America.

(b) On the state of science and its practice in America, in the field that he has chosen to investigate; on the reforms that he would suggest for this field of science in Belgium, and suggestions for teaching and the formation of scientific ideas.

Each American university will furnish a report upon the work of the Belgian students.

The exchange scholarship fund is renewable for a second year in case that his research investigations and prolonged studies justify a student in making this request.

Would not this report of the returned Belgian students furnish interesting reading to many self-satisfied Americans? It might give us many fertile ideas for the improvement of our own educational practices. For, make no mistake about it, these young men and women from over the sea

will take this scientific investigation very seriously, and they will enter their school year in this country in the spirit of an intellectual exploration or spiritual crusade.

American graduates already have entered the Belgian Universities of Brussels, Ghent, Liège and Louvain, and Belgian graduates have matriculated for advance courses in Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Cornell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, California, Johns Hopkins, Chicago and Stanford.

The first group of twenty-four American graduate students are now enjoying exchange fellowships in Belgian universities. An examination of this list of American students and of the fields of study they have chosen reveals the surprising fact that, whereas the young men have chosen Romance languages and literature, three of the young women have selected international law, political economy and chemistry, while the remaining two women "fellows" have specialized in the literature of the Middle Ages.

Information regarding the work of the Foundation and its possibilities offered to American university students may be obtained by writing to Perrin C. Galpin, Secretary of the Fellowship Committee of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation, Room 1700, 42 Broadway, New York City.

VENIZELOS AT A PARIS TRIAL

THE attempt by two Greek officers named Tserepis and Kyriakis to assassinate ex-Premier Venizelos at the Gare de Lyons, Paris, Aug. 12, 1920, was punished, after a fair trial ending on Feb. 26, 1921, by a sentence of five years' hard labor. The outstanding feature of the trial was the testimony of M. Venizelos, who appeared in person. It was shown that Tserepis was one of several Greek officers who had planned a filibustering raid on Albania and Epirus before the war, and whose animosity was aroused by the Premier's threat to sink their vessel if they attempted the raid. M. Venizelos added, however, that this personal motive had been complicated by new factors.

Two days before [he said] I had signed the Treaty of Sèvres. My enemies, no doubt, considered that after such a victory the

elections that were to follow would be a triumph for me. * * * They wished to get rid of a political leader who had enabled his country to avoid the danger it had run owing to the policy of a felonious King, and they hoped to prevent me from conducting the elections which, I had promised, should take place as soon as the treaty was signed.

A violent attack launched on M. Venizelos by a retired Greek Lieutenant drew fire from the former Premier. In a vehement speech he denounced Constantine, whose dynasty the Greek people have restored.

"You have been told," he said, "that there were no pro-Germans in Greece, and this was true so far as the people as a whole and the majority of politicians were concerned, but it was not true either of the King or of his entourage, who were not merely pro-Germans, but *boche* from head to foot."

MODIFIED PROHIBITION IN CANADA

BY THOMAS A. KYDD

What Canada has done in the way of prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages, and what Quebec Province is doing in the way of reaction toward "wetness," while still trying to avoid restoring the old-time saloon

THE great war, among other things, brought prohibition to the whole of Canada. The saloon and hotel bars were abolished, and in every province a system of dispensing ardent beverages by physician's prescription was established. Even ordinary beer was on the prohibited list of beverages, and only a mild drink containing a minimum of alcohol for preserving purposes was permitted to be sold.

In Quebec alone of the nine provinces was there a partial wetness. The Liberal Government, under the Premiership of Sir Lomer Gouin, a steady and conservative statesman, had for some ten years or so been reducing the saloon licenses in the cities and towns of the province, with the intention of bringing their number down to the minimum. Rural communities also had been gradually "going teetotal" until, when the war began, about 75 per cent. of them by popular vote had gone absolutely dry alcoholically. When the wartime movement of retrenchment and denial spread to Canada, therefore, Quebec was already among the most temperate provinces, and, for that matter, was one of the most temperate places in the world. The per capita quantity of strong drink consumed in Canada, be it said, was always much lighter than in European lands.

Though the Quebec Government decided to abolish the bar, it was not convinced that the inhabitants of the province were ready for absolute prohibition. Therefore, with the approval of the Legislature, a question was submitted to the electors in February, 1919, asking them if they were in favor of the sale of beer and wine of limited alcoholic strength. The vote in town and countryside was overwhelmingly in the affirmative. Accordingly, on May 1, 1919, the bars were all closed, and mild

beers and wines, of about 2 per cent. alcoholic content, in place of the former 5 and 6 per cent., were the only beverages of a spirituous or malt nature freely on sale. All spirituous liquors, such as whisky, gin, brandy and rum, were legally purchasable only by doctor's prescription, and then only in wine and imperial quart bottles, one for each prescription. Special Government licensed liquor stores were established for the purpose. The beer and wine of moderate strength were on sale by bottle in grocery stores and by the glass in restaurants.

While Quebec has been slaking its thirst in beer generally, the rest of the Dominion of Canada has by statute been under absolute prohibition. Actually, however, in every one of the provinces there has been more or less violation of the provincial prohibition laws. Some physicians, comparatively few in number, have furnished prescriptions to all and sundry by hundreds, and even thousands, monthly. There have been court prosecutions of medical practitioners for gross violation of the system, and the accused have been convicted in some instances of issuing hundreds of prescriptions for beverage purposes. In Manitoba, for instance, on Feb. 24, 1921, the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the province announced the suspension from practice of sixteen physicians, for periods ranging from a week to six months, for the wholesale issuing of whisky prescriptions. One of the medical men had to his credit, or discredit, the issuance of 10,000 whisky prescriptions in the course of a single month!

There has been a vast amount of forgery of physicians' names, and bogus forms have been printed and sold in pads by the thousand. There has also been much illicit sale

of whisky by licensed and unlicensed vendors in every part of the country, and the smuggling of hard drink across the international boundary has been enormous. It goes on day after day, despite the efforts of the authorities to uphold the law. Automobiles loaded with whisky have been seized and confiscated with their contents, and the drivers fined heavily or imprisoned; yet the game continues. In Ontario the punishments have been particularly severe; fines of \$1,000 or \$2,000 are of daily occurrence. There have been skirmishes between bootleggers and the preventive officers, with shooting, in which men have been wounded and sometimes killed.

The most sensational case of the kind was in Sandwich, Ontario, near the border city of Windsor, opposite Detroit, Mich., in the early hours of the morning of Nov. 2, 1920, when Beverly Trumble, proprietor of a roadhouse patronized by both Canadians and Americans, was shot dead by the Rev. J. O. L. Spracklin, "the fighting parson." Mr. Spracklin was conducting a whisky raid in his capacity as special preventive officer. He was arrested, charged with "slaying and killing" Trumble, and was duly tried and found "not guilty" of the charge of manslaughter laid against him by the Grand Jury at the Windsor Assizes, over which Chief Justice Sir William Meredith presided. The defense was that the hotel-keeper was armed, and had threatened to shoot Spracklin for breaking into his premises with his armed assistants. The jury accepted the evidence as the true statement of the facts. The Rev. Mr. Spracklin was deprived of his inspectorship, but retains his congregation.

Liquor in Canada requires defending as never before, and there have been instances where thieves have broken into houses, stolen whisky, and ignored money and other valuables. At the Port of St. John, New Brunswick, the thefts of whisky from the ocean steamships and the warehouses on the wharves became so extensive that the Canadian Pacific officials, one day in January last, met Mayor Schofield as a deputation, requesting police protection for the "wet" goods, brought principally from Scotland. It was complained that the situation was becoming intolerable, and that there must be a change. For example, the complainants charged that on one occasion seventeen men had descended upon a pile

of freight and carried off dozens of cases of Scotch. The Mayor agreed that such things must cease, but he did not see why the city police should spend their time guarding whisky shipments. He promised relief, however, and by a system of watching every case of liquor from the time of its hoisting out of the steamship's hold until it reached its local destination, the thieving was practically stopped.

In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island also there is violation of prohibition; in Quebec, in Ontario, in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia—in other words, from ocean to ocean.

The Province of Quebec, as already stated, differed from the others in that the sale of mild beer and wine was permitted by bottle and glass, but otherwise it resembled the rest of Canada in that whisky could be secured only on doctor's prescription. The banishment of the bar undoubtedly did away with much drunkenness, and improvement was noted, for instance, in the streets of Montreal. This city is by far the largest and most mixed in all Canada; the population of the island is about 800,000. It is also an ocean port, which adds to the difficulties of the police authorities.

The workingmen generally were content with the beer sold in the legitimate restaurants and shops. In Montreal, nevertheless, as elsewhere, there was considerable illicit sale of strong drink by the bottle, and by the glass in the all-night clubs, which sprang up with prohibition, and which were licensed to retail beer and wine of the Government standard of mildness. These clubs secretly sold whisky by the glass, generally at a price of 40 or 50 cents a drink. They were responsible for most of the drunkenness that prevailed, and so notorious, indeed, did they become that the License Commission of Montreal denounced them. They are expected to vanish when the act of 1921 comes into force.

The Quebec prohibition law could not be strictly enforced in the cities, and the violations were daily becoming more common, despite the best efforts of the authorities. The sale by bottle from the licensed vendors' establishments, without the legal prescription, became also more and more open. The Quebec Government at last realized that the law as regards its administration was a failure, although an improvement on

the old order of licensed hotel and saloon bars. After months of study and consultation with municipal leaders and the best legal talent, the Government drafted a new liquor bill, much less drastic. This was duly presented as a Government measure to the legislative Assembly at Quebec in the session that opened in January, 1921, by the Hon. Walter Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer. Mr. Mitchell declared that the prohibition law had failed in Quebec as elsewhere, and he quoted American, British and Canadian opinion on the working of prohibition laws in general. The Hon. L. A. Taschereau, the new Premier of the province, addressed the House along similar lines, and after a few days of consideration the bill was accepted and passed by both the Assembly and the Legislative Council, or upper house. The new law becomes effective May 1, 1921.

By this act the whole traffic in ardent beverages, as well as in wines, is placed in the hands of a commission of five, comprising the Hon. G. A. Simard, who resigns from the upper house to become Chairman; the Hon. Justice Carroll, who leaves the Court of Appeal to be Vice Chairman; Napoleon Drouin, ex-Mayor of Quebec City, a prominent manufacturer; A. L. Caron, Montreal, manufacturer, and Sir William E. Stavert, a Montreal financier with Dominion-wide reputation. These men are all reputable, hard-working and successful citizens, and will have absolute control of the liquor business in their hands.

The Quebec Liquor Commission is to establish depots in cities and towns as it sees fit, choosing the locations and employing and controlling all agents and clerks. From these depots are to be retailed alcoholic beverages, other than beer, and including wines, by bottle not containing more than forty-three fluid ounces. This is the "imperial quart," but most of the bottles will be the familiar wine quart size. A customer may purchase only one bottle of whisky, brandy, gin or other ardent drink at a time, and he needs for this no permit. There is to be no limit to the sale of wines, as the Government's intention is to encourage wine drinking, in the conviction that this may tend to minimize the consumption of whisky. Premier Taschereau announced this policy in the Legislature and declared that the commission would retail wine at cost.

Hard drink and wines are to be obtainable only in the depots of the Liquor Commission, and whisky, gin, brandy and other strong beverages are to be consumed only in the residence of the purchaser. There are severe penalties for infractions of the law. Liquor depots are not to be established in rural communities, nor in any urban centre which does not wish to have one. A man may be placed on a blacklist for drunkenness, at the instance of his wife, daughter, sister, father or other relative, or employer or clergyman, and to that individual no liquor may be sold at any depot throughout the province.

Beer of 5 per cent. strength is to be brewed and freely sold in licensed beer taverns. Beer may also be sold with meals in legitimate hotels and restaurants. These institutions may also serve wine with meals. In this connection it should be noted that the commission is to decide what constitutes a meal in the event of a dispute. The commission may also at will close any depot in any section of the province, and may cancel licenses for lawbreaking at its pleasure. Its control is complete. The breweries are to sell to dealers and may locate depots anywhere but in dry territory. The whiskies, wines, &c., are to be purchased by the Liquor Commission direct from the distillers and wine growers, and every bottle is to be stamped with the Government stamp and the price to the purchaser.

British Columbia also is about to institute a system of retailing alcoholic beverages by the bottle from licensed shops, in accordance with a referendum taken last Autumn. The question on the ballot was: "Are you in favor of the sale of alcoholic beverages in sealed packets?" The vote was overwhelmingly in the affirmative.

The other seven provinces of the Confederation remain dry, but it is predicted by many observers, including Hon. Walter Mitchell, Provincial Secretary of Quebec, that prohibition in Canada is doomed eventually to disappear, and that the French-Canadian province's example will soon be followed. In any event, Quebec is venturing upon an interesting experiment in dealing with an ancient problem.

[For recent election returns regarding the prohibition issue, see news article on Canada, which can be located by looking up "Canada" in index at end of Table of Contents.]

THE NEW CANADIAN TARIFF

By W. L. EDMONDS

ALTHOUGH the Canadian Parliament has been in session since Feb. 14, 1921, no definite announcement has yet been made as to when the new customs tariff will be submitted for the consideration of the House. A Cabinet committee in 1920 conducted an extensive inquiry in each of the nine provinces for the purpose of securing the viewpoint of the various interests concerned. This committee completed its labors some time ago, and it is the general opinion throughout the Dominion that the Government is deferring submission of the bill until something definite is known as to the nature of the proposed tariff legislation of the United States.

The statement made by a member of the Laurier Cabinet twenty years ago that the tariff was no longer an issue in Dominion politics does not hold good at present. The tariff is again a live issue. And that which has thrown it into the arena is the propaganda which the Farmers' Party, and particularly that section of it within the boundaries of the three Prairie Provinces, has been conducting for some time.

Although in the early stage of their agitation the farmers' organizations appeared to be demanding absolute free trade, they now deny that this is their object. According to official statements submitted to the investigating committee of the Cabinet last year, the platform of the Farmers' Party is, in brief, as follows:

An immediate all-round reduction of the customs tariff; the establishment of a 50 per cent. preference, in place of the 33 1-3 per cent. now obtaining, on imports from Great Britain, and within five years, free trade; unrestricted reciprocity with the United States along the lines of the agreement of 1911; the placing on the free list of all foodstuffs and agricultural implements.

That this platform has stronger adherents in the Prairie Provinces than in other parts of the Dominion there can be no doubt. Leaders of the Farmers' Party in Ontario subscribe to it, but there is by no means unanimity on the part of the farmers of that province as a class.

Among the farmers in the Province of Quebec the propaganda has made less impression than on those in any other part of Canada. Farmers in the Maritime Provinces, while stating a desire for tariff modifications, have expressed themselves in favor of allowing manufacturing industries some measure of protection. Fruit growers in British Columbia have unreservedly expressed themselves in favor of the maintenance of the protective tariff.

The agitation initiated by the Farmers' Party, which at present has about a dozen members in the House of Commons, has not been without its influence on the Liberal Party, which up to about a quarter of a century ago was advocating "free trade as they have it in England." The Liberal platform in respect to the tariff, as drafted at a convention in August last, has recently been described by *The Toronto Globe*, the chief organ of the Liberal Party, as being "based on the principle of obtaining the maximum revenue possible from those who live luxuriously, and taxing as lightly as revenue requirements will permit the necessities of life." There is, however, quite a division of opinion among Liberals in respect to the tariff.

The Independent Labor Party, which has developed some strength in the provincial Legislatures of the Dominion, favors the "gradual elimination of import duties on all necessities of life, such as food, clothing, boots and shoes, and the tools and machinery used in production." Certain individual labor unions have, on the other hand, protested against any general lowering of the duties.

Though any material increase in the customs tariff of the United States would undoubtedly strengthen the position of the protectionists in Canada, it is scarcely likely, in view of the combined strength of the advocates of low tariff and of free trade, that the new tariff will create a higher average scale of duties than those at present obtaining. That it is the intention of the Dominion Government, however, to maintain in the new tariff the

principle of protection is evident from the tone of the speech pronounced from the throne at the opening of Parliament on Feb. 14.

It is the opinion of my advisers [said the Governor General in that part of his speech referring to the proposed new tariff], that in such revision regard must be had to the necessities of revenue, and as well that the principle of protection to Canadian labor and legitimate Canadian industries, including agriculture, which has prevailed for over forty years in this country, must be consistently maintained; but that the customs duties imposed to that end should be no higher than is essential to insure good standards of living among our working population and to retain and make possible the normal expansion of the industries in which they find employment.

Although in the meantime several amendments have been made, there has been no complete revision of the Canadian customs tariff since 1907. The latter was the seventh since Confederation in 1867. The first revision was in 1868, and the second came in the following year, both creating an average rate of duty on total imports of 13.1 per cent. Under the Mackenzie free trade Government the third revision took place, the object being to provide a tariff for revenue only. The idea of protection was scouted entirely. Under this instrument the average rate of duty on total imports fell to 11.7 per cent. The first avowed protectionist tariff of the Dominion came into operation in 1879 under the Government of Sir John Macdonald, as a result of which the average rate of duty on total imports rose in the following year to 20.2 per cent., and on dutiable imports alone to 26.1 per cent. By amendments which were made in 1887 and 1888, with a view to affording greater protection to the iron and steel industry in particular, the average rate on dutiable goods rose to 31.9 per cent. and on total imports to 21.8 per cent. In response to a general cry throughout the country for removing what were termed "the moldering branches of protection," there was in 1894 a fifth revision of the tariff. By this, although a protectionist Government was still in power, the average rate of duty on dutiable goods fell to 30.5, and on total imports to 17.8 per cent.

The sixth revision, that of 1897, was even more remarkable for its outstanding features than that of 1879, when the principle of protection was adopted. That which in

particular gave it its outstanding features was the inauguration of the principle of preferential treatment to imports from countries within the British Empire, beginning at 12½ per cent., rising to 25 per cent. the following year, and later to 33 1-3 per cent., at which it still remains. This revision of 1897 took place in the year following the advent of the Laurier Administration to power, and resulted in a slight lowering of the average duties, due rather to the influence of the preferential provisions than to any departure from the principle of protection.

The seventh and last revision of the tariff was made in 1907. The outstanding features of that tariff were the introduction of the threefold classifications of preferential, intermediate and general duties, and the establishment of the drawback principle in respect to raw materials imported and subsequently exported in the form of finished products. With rates of duty there was very little interference, the average rate remaining about as before.

Owing to temporary expedients introduced into the tariff, there was a perceptible increase in the average duties during the war period, those on total imports reaching 20.5, and those on dutiable imports 35.9 per cent. They are now back again to the pre-war normal. The average rate for 1920 on total imports was 17.61, and on dutiable imports 27.03 per cent.

The latest available figures showing the amount of duty collected on the imports from different countries are those for 1919, and they show that the average on the total imports from the United States was 11.6 per cent., and on dutiable goods 20.9 per cent. Under the first tariff created after Confederation they were 7.3 per cent. and 20.1 per cent. respectively. The average in 1919 on total imports from Great Britain was 15.3 per cent., and on dutiable imports 22.3 per cent., compared with 13.5 per cent. in 1869.

One regard in which the new Canadian tariffs differ from those of the United States is that they become effective the moment they are submitted to the House of Commons. They have, of course, to run the gamut of both the House and the Senate, but, as the failure of endorsement would mean the resignation of the Government, they never fail to become statutes.

THE EVACUATION OF SANTO DOMINGO

BY FABIO FIALLO

Formerly Provincial Governor and Assistant Secretary of the Interior in Santo Domingo

The Editor of CURRENT HISTORY furnished proofs of the appended article to the State Department and Navy Department of the United States, and invited an official reply to the serious statements of Mr. Fiallo, or an unofficial reply with the sanction of the Government. After considering the matter, the authorities decided that for the present they would prefer not to make any declarations in reply to Mr. Fiallo, for the reason that the Government's future policy in Santo Domingo had not been, up to this time, fully determined.

THE Admiral of the North American Fleet who has assumed the title of "Military Governor of Santo Domingo" published a proclamation on Dec. 23, 1920, addressed to the Dominican people, in which he announced the decision taken by the Government of the United States to "withdraw from the responsibilities undertaken in connection with Dominican affairs." This withdrawal was to take place in accordance with a previously published plan.

The plan referred to provides for the creation of a "Consultative Commission of Representative Dominicans," to which is assigned, by the "will of the Military Governor," an American technical adviser. The commission is charged to draw up reforms in the laws of the republic, in accordance with the "minutes" presented to it by the technical adviser. In case any one of these reform projects for the change of the national laws should itself necessitate the adoption of a constitutional amendment, by reason of any divergency from the Constitution already in force, it will be the adviser's duty to draw up the constitutional amendment in question.

The plan does not clearly determine whether the Consultative Commission is to have any voice in these projects of constitutional amendment or even to examine them. Reforms in the laws now in force, or any new legislation drawn up by the Consultative Commission, together with the constitutional amendments proposed or drawn up by the technical adviser,

are to be submitted to the Military Governor. The latter is empowered to approve them as they stand or to modify them, as seems to him best, and to "promulgate" immediately such part of this legislation *sui generis* as, in his judgment and discretion, he considers to be in conformity with the Constitution now in force.

The Military Governor's next duty will be to issue a call for the election of a Congress and of a Constituent Assembly. These bodies, to be convened by the Governor for this specific object, are to be informed of the constitutional amendments above described. When these amendments have been approved, the Governor is to call a popular election to choose a President of the republic, and when the latter has been elected the Military Governor "will renounce the powers with which he is invested" in favor of "the elected Executive of the Dominican Republic."

The plan, as will immediately be obvious to all, is only a specious and illegal stragem, the only object of which is to give an appearance of legitimacy to the forcible seizure of the Dominican Republic effected by the past Administration.

It should first be noted that the functions and duties of the "Military Governor of Santo Domingo" are sanctioned by no statute either of Dominican or American source. They are in effect a fiction devised to serve the ends of an illegal occupation of territory belonging to a friendly nation and to enforce the overthrow of its legitimate rulers by the Wilson Administration.

They could be summed up briefly as a mendacious application of American military law, inasmuch as the said "Government" is exercised neither on American territory nor on the territory of a public enemy of the United States. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the naval commander who exercises this usurped authority has been allowed to retain a more or less fictitious rank in the American Navy, viz., Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, the reason for this being undoubtedly that the perpetrators of the intervention realized the inability of the North American Executive to create such an office without a violation of American constitutional law and jurisprudence. The ruse of allowing naval officers detached for such illegal functions to retain active ranking in the navy undoubtedly seemed the most effective means of obviating the obstacle described.

On what authority, then, does the ill-named "Military Governor of Santo Domingo" intervene in reforms in the laws and Constitution of the Dominican Republic, call elections there, and convene a Congress and a Constitutional Assembly? At this point it should be noted that even should the military occupation of the Dominican Republic be considered a legitimate act of war, the statutes that govern such acts from the various viewpoints of international law, constitutional law and military law as they prevail among civilized nations, in no way authorize the Governor of an occupied territory to call elections or to carry out by illegal means a permanent reform in the existing national laws, unless a specific transfer of sovereignty in favor of the occupying nation shall have previously occurred, and this for the simple reason that all such acts are an expression of sovereignty. In other words, only in case of a formal annexation of the Dominican Republic by the United States, bringing with it the virtual dissolution of Dominican sovereignty, would a military official of the United States be empowered within the jurisdiction of existing American laws to assume the powers granted to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo by the proposed plan.

To this plan the Dominican people are opposed, not only because of its illegality, but also because they fear the practical results of this legal outrage. To take part in

its execution would be equivalent to giving direct sanction to the intervention and to the illegitimate powers assumed by the Military Governor—by an act of public sovereignty, viz., the elections—and this sanction would create a dangerous precedent for the liberty of the republic. If the existing intervention were thus sanctioned and accepted by the Dominican people, and if the authority of the naval officer who now exercises dictatorial powers in Santo Domingo, with the right of effecting reforms in the Constitution, were thus recognized, this would obviously provide a sufficient basis for whatever future aggression the President of the United States might perpetrate in Santo Domingo. Whenever he might see fit to modify either the Constitution or the laws of the country, the President of the United States, under cover of this precedent, would merely have to send an Admiral to take over the Government of the republic.

And even though the Dominican people today have implicit confidence in the sense of justice of the American people; and in the judgment which they pronounced on such questions in the recent Presidential elections, the bitter experience of the wrong suffered at the hands of the last Administration and President Wilson's attempt to justify this act of imperialism by an arbitrary and captious interpretation of the Treaty of 1907 and of the rights which it conferred, have led the Dominicans to view with the greatest alarm any possibility of the setting up of a legal equivocation that would be a continual menace to their sovereignty and independence.

This American plan, then, has every appearance of a political stratagem of the kind exemplified by the famous Constitution—"made in Washington"—of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under the Wilson Administration, a Constitution conceived with the intention of imposing the rule of the United States marines under the guise of a puppet Government for the Dominican people and with a certain appearance of consent upon their part.

To understand this, one need only consider that the determining power under the plan remains, as before, the Military Governor, and that the Consultative Commission is destined to play merely a figurative

rôle. It has no power to veto or to obstruct the will of the Governor, or to oppose the promulgation of the new legislation created by itself, but "amended" subsequently by the Governor according to his own whim without consultation with the commission.



FABIO FIALLO

Poet and former Provincial Governor in Santo Domingo

As for Constitutional reform, it is obvious that any Congress and Constituent Assembly would have to vote on the changes or additions of the Admiral exercising governmental functions; but no rational being who knows the irresponsible and despotic power wielded by the military authorities in Santo Domingo—with the support of American forces and of the National Guard which they control—can imagine that the elections which will be called to create these legislative bodies, or those which will take place later to elect a President of the republic, will represent a free expression of the popular will.

The true object of the whole plan seems to be to awaken political ambition and rivalries, in the expectation that the various political factions, impelled by degrading enticement, will abandon every consideration

of respect, of decency, and of the safety of the republic's sovereignty, in order to vie with one another for the favor of the omnipotent authorities of the occupation, even though the price of such favor will be in very fact an injury to that sovereignty. The final stage of the process, already reached in Haiti, and denounced in the electoral speeches of the new American President, would be represented by the formation of a Government classifiable as opera bouffe, the institutions of which would be manipulated by a few irresponsible American officials of the "carpet-bagger" type of the Reconstruction period.

The plan does not even give assurance that the military occupation will cease, for the vague promise to "withdraw from the responsibilities assumed in connection with Dominican affairs" certainly contains no specific promise in this regard, and leaves this vital question enshrouded in ominous obscurity.

The great majority of the Dominican people resolutely repudiate the plan, realizing that its acceptance and execution would mean a virtual abandonment of sovereignty, and would be in effect a sad and most unworthy sequel to the sufferings which they have bravely and patriotically endured since 1916, precisely because they did not then consent to the proposal which it is now sought surreptitiously to foist upon them—by the plan that has been confronting them since December, 1920. The Dominicans see clearly the deception, and firmly refuse to allow dust to be thrown into their eyes. The only honorable and legitimate solution of the Dominican situation, that which the Dominican people accept as the only solution which would protect their sovereignty from a grave impairment, consists in the re-establishment of the constitutional authorities deposed by the military coup d'état of President Wilson in 1916.

This desire of the Dominican people springs from no personal sympathies or political tendencies centring about the members of the national Government that was overthrown; nor does it spring from any hostility to constitutional reforms, which all Dominicans consider indispensable for the social and political reorganization of the country and for the maintenance of public order. Its source lies in a clear comprehension of the crisis through which

the republic is passing, in a sense of our own dignity and in a realization of the dangers now threatening our freedom and sovereignty. The Dominican people, and their blood brothers by language and religion in twenty South American republics, hope for this act of justice, which is in accord with the true spirit of American traditions, from President Harding. His decision will have a decisive influence upon the immediate future of Pan-American relations, alike political and commercial.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Señor Fabio Fiallo, who is regarded as Santo Domingo's most representative poet, has figured prominently in both the literary and the political

life of his native land. Born in 1867, he devoted his youth to letters and journalism. Later he filled the posts of Dominican Consul General in New York and in Hamburg; became chargé d'Affaires in Havana, and later filled the offices of Provincial Governor and Assistant Secretary of the Interior in Santo Domingo. On July 15, 1920, Señor Fiallo was arrested by the American military authorities in Santo Domingo; on the charge that he had violated censorship regulations, and was brought to trial before a Military Commission empowered by the Military Governor to inflict the death sentence. As soon as the news of his predicament reached South America by way of Cuba, however, leading newspapers and public corporations of practically all the Latin American countries cabled appeals to President Wilson to spare the poet's life. Señor Fiallo was then sentenced to confinement with hard labor, but this sentence was changed to one year's imprisonment, and finally commuted on Oct. 15, 1920, when he received his liberty. He is now living in the United States, where he is engaged in journalistic work on behalf of Dominican independence.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES

BY BERYL GRAY

Editorial Staff, Bulletin of the Pan American Union

THE latest political movement in Latin America to promise constructive development is the confederation of four of the republics of Central America—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador—in the Central American Union. This is the resurgence of the old political division known in Spanish Colonial days as the Realm of Guatemala, a Captain Generalcy under the Spanish Empire. Central America declared its freedom from Spain as one country. It again becomes a political whole in response to its natural geographical entity and the kindred strain of its peoples. For, though Nicaragua has not joined the Union, it is likely that it will eventually do so.

In Central America there are rich natural resources which have been barely touched, because the ways of communication have never been properly opened, and political dissensions and revolutionary movements have tempted no country—and not many rich private corporations—to invest heavily in the building of roads, railroads, power plants and other such necessities for the opening of extensive mines, plantations or industries in an undeveloped

country. So mines which hide much gold, ferrochromium and lead; forests teeming with hard wood and material for paper pulp; land for planting hectares of coffee, sugar, cotton and fiber plants, and for developing new oil fields, lie awaiting the coming of men and money, which the rise of a strong government in these states will bring. Central America contains a goodly share of the raw materials which we need to keep our factories running for home consumption and for export, and her needs are exactly those things which are turned out by our steel industries, mines and textile plants. Her chief imports are machinery, railroad materials, coal and cotton textiles. Few industries outside of the raising of bananas, coffee, sugar and cacao have been developed to an appreciable extent beyond the needs of local consumption in Central America. And the chief hindrance has been the lack of shipping lines and of adequate assurance of stability of government; the would-be investor hesitated to sink his capital, even though he knew of the wealth that awaited development.

The Central American Union has been of slow growth from the earliest days of in-

dependence. When Central America drew the first breath of liberty she spoke for herself as a union, then called the State of Guatemala, under the plan of Iguala. But immediately thereafter personal enmity among the rulers of the provinces caused Honduras and Nicaragua to choose rather to join the empire of Iturbide in Mexico, and Costa Rica remained neutral, preferring her own sovereignty. So, in 1821, upon the arrival of Iturbide's Mexican troops, all these five provinces became attached to the Mexican Empire and so remained until 1823, when, at the falling of the empire, the regent of these States permitted them to call a supreme council to decide their national matters. Thus they were again given their sovereignty, holding a federal and representative congress in 1824. Once more dissensions broke out, and the countries divided. Up to 1838 various attempts by Zamorra and others broke up the union in spite of the efforts of Morazan and various patriots who worked for it. But in 1855 all the countries united against the attempt of William Walker to take Nicaragua. Yet the countries remained separate. Still the patriots and the people of these republics dreamed of a union and hoped one day for the restitution of their ancient jointure, and provision was made for it in the constitution of every one of the five States.

Now what many Central Americans believed to be but a dream is coming to pass. Whether it will be permanent, or have the ephemeral qualities of a dream, remains to be seen, and depends upon the quality of the souls of those who have brought it about and the steadfastness of the people as a whole. There has naturally been much propaganda for and against the union. Those against it have said that the United States did not want it—that it would be too strong a State—which is ridiculous, as the total population of the five countries is some 5,614,000, or less than that of New York City. Others against the union have said that the United States was secretly backing it solely for the purpose of exploiting the natural resources, to come and rob the country of its God-given wealth, converting it into American dollars to send back to the United States. This is equally ridiculous. No country that continues to hide its mineral and agricultural wealth under untouched mountains and plains can

hope to prosper, any more than did the unfaithful servant of the parable, who hid his talent in a napkin.

It is interesting to note briefly what each of the four republics of the Central American Union produces at present, and what its undeveloped possibilities are:

COSTA RICA—The chief exports of Costa Rica are coffee, bananas, gold and silver. Her export trade to the leading commercial countries for 1919 amounted to \$17,748,835. Her imports for the same year were \$7,517,989, chiefly in tools, sugar mill machinery and machinery for the preparation of coffee and cacao; flour, cotton fabrics, electrical material, railway material, lard, coal. In addition to bananas, of which the annual export is some 11,000,000 bunches, Costa Rica produces hides, skins and rubber, as well as such hard woods as mahogany, ironwood, cedar, logwood and other wood suitable for dyeing and tanning purposes. These latter products have never been developed to any great extent, due to lack of roads and other means of transportation. The Government lately granted a concession for turtle fishing off the coast, and so added another item to Costa Rica's list of natural resources.

GUATEMALA—Guatemala's chief exports are coffee, bananas, sugar, chicle, hides, rubber, skins, &c., which in 1919 amounted to \$22,419,134, bought by the chief commercial countries. Her imports for the same year amounted to \$11,230,819 worth of cotton textiles, iron and steel manufactures, food products, wood, textiles, railway material, agricultural and industrial machinery, &c. None of the exports have been developed to anything like their possible production, for lack of large investments and transportation. The message of the President of Guatemala read on March 1, 1920, states that the ferrochromium mines of Jalapa and the mines of Estrada Cabrera produced 2,241,341 kilos and 11,352 kilos, respectively, of which 1,801 long tons were shipped to New Orleans and New York. The mines of Santa Rosa produced 680,770 kilos of first grade ore and 533,400 kilos second grade. The lead mines of the Department of Huehuetenango produced 1,249 quintals of pure metal.

HONDURAS.—This state exports chiefly bananas, gold and silver cyanides, coconuts, cattle, hides, coffee, rubber and mahogany.

In 1919 the export trade of Honduras amounted to \$5,733,622, while her imports for the same year were \$6,931,376 worth of cotton textiles, foodstuffs, pharmaceutical products, boots and shoes, machinery, iron and steel manufactures. Some of her almost untouched resources are now coming to light in a concession recently granted to exploit vegetable pulp for paper and a twenty-five-year concession for petroleum. New oil fields and new fields for paper pulp are certainly going to be interesting, in view of our lessening supplies of these necessities. Then, too, there is a concession given not long ago for the exploitation of oleaginous fruits. The castor-bean plant grows wild in these countries, and the castor oil which it produces is not only a medicine but extensively used as a lubricant in aircraft engines. Many comestible oils are produced from plants native to Central America.

SALVADOR.—Salvador's exports are coffee, gold, silver, sugar, indigo, balsam, hides, rubber, tobacco, rice, etc., amounting, in 1919, to \$16,745,290. In the same year she imported \$14,958,196 worth of cotton cloth and manufactures, hardware, pharmaceutical supplies, flour, boots and shoes, cotton yarn, machinery. Not long ago petroleum was discovered in Salvador at a depth of 800 feet, and amber was reported to have been discovered in San Alejo, Department of Union.

NICARAGUA.—In Nicaragua, which has not joined the Union, but will probably do so, the exports are coffee, rubber, gold, silver, hides, bananas, woods, cacao and sugar, amounting in 1919 to \$12,409,472; her imports for the same year were \$7,912,653 worth of textiles, flour, machinery, kerosene, leather, boots and shoes, mining materials, rice, etc. Within the last year a contract was granted for the introduction of Spanish immigrants for the cultivation of *abaca* (Manila hemp), cotton and grapes, and another concession for an \$800,000 plant for the concession of textile fibres from several varieties of fibrous plants. An oil concession of 500,000 hectares was also granted.

Costa Rica and Salvador have passed laws granting free postage to periodicals of Central American countries, provided these countries extend reciprocal privileges.

Costa Rica, with the exception of tobacco and other State monopolies, has declared all raw materials from the Central American republics free of import tax. In case of reciprocal action by the aforementioned countries the exemption from taxation will be extended to articles manufactured from raw materials, with the exception of the State monopolies.

Costa Rica and Nicaragua signed a treaty on June 20, 1920, permitting the reciprocal use, in the timber commerce of the two countries, of the waters and streams near the frontier. Under this convention Costa Rica permits vessels loaded with timber from the forests of Nicaragua to use the Colorado River and its exit to the sea without payment of fees, taxes or contributions for fiscal services rendered. And Nicaragua grants to Costa Rica the same rights in the use of the rivers and lakes of its territory for vessels loaded with timber from the Costa Rican forests. Then Nicaragua, which is not a member of the union, has declared exempt from port, anchorage and lighthouse taxes vessels flying the flag of any of the Central American countries engaged in coastwise trade between the ports of Nicaragua, other Central American countries and Panama. This seems a good augury for the union.

It was planned to create the union, if possible, on the centenary of the independence of Central America, and to this end a central office was formed. Salvador invited the other four countries to each send five delegates to consider the matter, and the result was that a covenant was signed in San José, Costa Rica, on Jan. 19, 1921, whereby Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica constituted themselves a sovereign and independent nation, to be known as the Federation of Central America. This union will allow the component States autonomy in handling their domestic affairs, and permits them to observe their diplomatic treaties severally made, if the union has not, through diplomatic means, effected changes in them.

The bases of the Constitution are that the Government of the union be republican, popular, representative and responsible. Sovereignty will reside in the nation, and federal power will be exercised by a Federal Council composed of delegates elected

by the people, each State to elect a delegate and an alternate, who shall live in the federal capital during their five-year term of office. There shall be a President of the Council elected from among the delegates. The Federal Council shall have control of the military forces of the several States. As soon as the congress of each State has ratified the covenant of San José a congress will meet which will be in session one month to draw up the Constitution. This congress must be organized by not less than three States, and not later than Sept. 15, 1921. The covenant expresses regret that Nicaragua has not entered the union, but provides that she shall be treated as a member of the Central American family, and may enter when she so desires. This provision is also extended to any other State which does not at once join the union. At the time of preparation of this article the congresses of three States had ratified the Union covenant, thus putting it into force.

After the war with Spain the United States began to realize that it could not live to itself alone, and Central America is now realizing that the time is ripe for intercourse with the world. Once, in prehistoric days, man gave chase to his food, fell upon it and devoured it. He covered his nakedness with the skins of animals thus captured, and used their splintered bones for rude tools. Next he learned that by barter and trade he could obtain things from beyond the limits of a day's journey. As civilization progressed man's needs increased. His field of activity is no longer bounded by the circle to which the endurance of his heart and the swiftness of his feet once confined him. Nations have come to realize that the laws of supply and demand reach out beyond the national confines in a network all over the world, and

that the members of the human family must help each other if they would live. Long continued personal or national selfishness is a destructive policy which operate against the one who lives by it, for it is contrary to the great scheme of things. Sooner or later individuals and nations realize that the earth was not created with their birth and will not cease its perennial miracle of Spring when they perish. They realize sooner or later that they are but part in a great, incomprehensible whole. The Rockefeller Foundation has done much to clear Central America of yellow fever, and is waging a campaign against hookworm, which is a great service not only to the countries themselves, but to the rest of the world.

Transportation in the countries of the Central American Union is in many parts by pack horse, or natives carrying loads by means of a headstrap; in more thickly settled regions it is by slow, deliberate bull carts over rutted tracks or roads. Perhaps before long this will all be changed; it will be, if it is possible to establish a strong Government, which can give assurances of the peace that must reign if capital is to be invested. If the Union of Central America becomes a strong Government, and political factions can be overcome by patriotism, it will mean the economic development of this natural geographical entity, whose various peoples are of the same racial strains. For, if the greatest good of the greatest number is earnestly striven for, Central America, previously known to the world chiefly as the place where five small republics carried on revolutions, may become a centralized State with unmeasured possibilities in the way of raw materials for the rest of the world, for which it will receive in return the products of an older national growth.



HOW PANAMA PAID OFF ITS DEBTS

By CREDE HASKINS CALHOUN

THE Republic of Panama is now in the best financial condition of any country in the world; and yet only a little over two years ago it was deeply in debt and five months behind in payment of current running expenses. To be ranked so high financially is no small matter, and it is particularly unusual for this distinction to be held by a Latin-American country. To-day Panama, if it wished, could pay every cent of its national debt in cash, but such action, of course, is neither necessary nor advisable.

In November, 1918, the Government had on deposit in a local bank \$18,170.95, and in the National Bank \$9,573.75; it also held various notes, papers and credits for payments made and money advanced, amounting to \$142,381.40. A great part of the paper just mentioned was of very doubtful value. The local bank deposits were already pledged for the amortization of the contracted debt, and the National Bank credit was set aside for payment of interest on bonds covering indebtedness. Funds were not available for the payment of the Government employees, all of whom had their salaries discounted 15 per cent. by the Government because of lack of funds, and many of whom were forced to assign their salaries to usurers, sometimes at a discount of as much as 60 per cent. All bills against the Government were at a discount because they could not be collected in less than eight or nine months after maturity, and then only with great difficulty.

In his report to the Assembly the Secretary of Finance said, referring to conditions in 1918:

The credit of the Treasury was so impaired that the principal commercial houses of the Republic had notified the Government purchasing agents that they did not want any connection with the Government, against which they already had bills which had not been paid. The banks, the electric light company, and the Panama Canal had greatly harassed the Treasury in their repeated attempts to make collections.

The floating debt at this time, to merchants and individuals, amounted to \$1,000,-

000, and a similar amount was owed to the Panama Canal.

The real reformation began when Mr. Addison T. Ryan, an American with previous experience in Haiti, was appointed Fiscal Agent. It was considered necessary at first to float a loan in order to eliminate the floating debts and to make a fresh start, but the condition of the money market, as a result of the war, made the prospects of success discouraging. There occurred, furthermore, such a surprising increase in revenues and a corresponding reduction of expenses that the loan was not floated, and the Government has recovered financially without borrowing one cent.

One of the first steps taken was to reduce the force of Government employees by 15 per cent. and to pay the remainder the full amount of their salaries, instead of discounting all salaries 15 per cent., as had been the previous practice. The introduction of more efficient methods resulted in an increase in the amount of revenues collected; and the employees, who now received full pay, gave better and more loyal services.

Panama, like many other Latin-American countries, had granted to individuals for specified sums the right to collect certain taxes, such as the internal revenue on intoxicating liquors. The system applied in collecting a great part of the revenues was faulty and expensive. In some cases collecting agents had for long periods neglected to turn in to the Government the amounts collected. The accounting system was poor and accounts were not kept up to date. The Government had a number of purchasing agents and as many storehouses; this led to great confusion and entailed a great loss of materials and supplies. These and many other irregularities were discovered and have since been largely corrected.

The Government took over the collection of the internal revenue from liquors and in one month collected more than had been produced in an entire year by the old sys-

tem of selling the concession. A new system of accounting was installed which made it possible to tell day by day the exact financial condition of the country by a daily balance of all accounts. All purchasing for the Government was placed under a single head, and all materials were stored in one place and properly accounted for, with great resulting economy.

Instead of the faulty, unreliable and expensive system of handling revenues collected, a contract was made with a local bank to act as collecting agent and depository for the Government, and also to disburse moneys upon proper authority from the Department of Finance. The bank receives a small commission on the funds collected and disbursed, but pays interest on deposits. Formerly the Government paid \$45,000 a year for the collection of revenues. Under the new arrangement the interest on deposits exceeds the commissions paid the bank, making a saving of over \$47,000 a year and at the same time increasing the amounts of collections received; the Government, furthermore, is now provided with an efficient and reliable collecting and disbursing agency.

In the meantime debts to the amount of \$1,248,247.74 have been paid, leaving in the treasury on Dec. 31, 1920, a balance of \$2,918,466.31. During the ensuing period public improvements were made and over a quarter of a million dollars spent in the work of constructing a new hospital and in measures to improve the public health; interest was paid on loans and amortization of loans to the extent of \$280,452, while current running expenses were kept paid up to date. Government employes, instead of accepting paper which they could not

collect for months and which they were forced to discount at heavy loss for cash, received checks for their salaries in full on the last day of each month, and these checks were cashed at sight for face value. A statement for the eighteen-months period ended Dec. 31, 1920, showed that the collections, averaged over the period, exceeded the running expenses by \$208,908 monthly.

The national debt of Panama consists principally of loans, the largest of which pays interest at 5 per cent. and is due in 1944; the second largest loan, bearing interest at the same rate, is due in 1925. Panama can pay the interest on her loans and provide for their amortization without using one cent of current revenue collected. This is made possible by the annuity of \$250,000 paid on account of the Panama Canal, and by the interest on \$6,000,000 deposited in the United States to guarantee the parity of the national currency, which is no longer in use. [The money of Panama has practically all been exported as a result of the rise in the value of silver during the war, and at present, though not legal tender, United States money—silver, gold and paper—is employed as a medium of exchange.]

If the present methods are continued, and the budget system that has been established is maintained, the financial future of Panama is assured. As regards stability, the Government is guaranteed revolution-proof by the United States.

The surplus in the treasury is to be devoted to the construction of good roads to develop the rich resources of the interior of the Republic, and to make of Panama a producing country, which it is not at present.

A SERVICE RENDERED

To the Editor of Current History:

I acknowledge receipt of a copy of the *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for April, and have read with special interest the article written by Dr. John S. Cummings [on "Retraining War-Disabled Men."] I believe you have rendered a distinct service by the clear statements which you have thus presented. The task of rehabili-

tation is a responsibility of the American people. The Federal board is striving to act as the agency of the American people, and needs the intelligent and sane support of all persons who think and work.

R. T. FISHER,

Assistant Director for Vocational Rehabilitation.

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1921.

"AMERICAN POWERS IN PANAMA"

A reply to Elbridge Colby's recent article on the foregoing subject, with some pungent comments on the North American air of superiority regarding Latin Americans

To the Editor of Current History:

If the American people were to judge of the importance of the Republic of Panama as an independent nation by the article contributed to *CURRENT HISTORY* by Elbridge Colby, published in the March number of this magazine, under the title of "American Powers in Panama," they would be apt to consider this strip of land as nothing short of an American colony, in which the natives are but a group of school children who depend entirely on the United States to learn the rudimentary lessons on how to conduct their own affairs.

And nothing would be more unjustified or untruthful than this opinion, as it is a well-known fact—at least to those who have impartially followed the march of events in Panama since its separation from Colombia in 1903—that this small republic has been solving the problem of its existence as an independent and free nation without the aid of outside influence and with the determination and energy which arise precisely from the consciousness every Panamanian has that all the progress, both moral and sociological, which the nation may achieve is wrongfully traced back to the effect which her supposed constant tutelage has on her national life.

It would be unjust not to admit that American influence has done a great deal to hasten our material progress; but if the people of the United States were acquainted with the indiosyncrasy of our race, if they would only realize how we resent that superiority which a great majority of their countrymen boast of—perhaps not maliciously, but unconsciously—when in the presence of Latin Americans; if they were aware of the fact that our pride is beyond all human conception when racial differences are concerned, they would be the last to give themselves credit for any *direct* progress evidenced in the regions of Latin America where they exercise a certain influence.

Thus, it is safe to assume that Americans

have done little or nothing to achieve the least progress in the governmental system of Panama. Their presence in the very heart of the republic has not left and will not leave any traces in the sociological evolution of our national life, for the simple reason that what they consider good and what is good for their country is absolutely useless to us down here. If the American press and officials who are sent down here to serve in the Canal Zone do not end that systematic propaganda which they carry on, with the childish egotistical intention of giving the American powers in Latin America generally, and in Panama specifically, an importance and scope of action absolutely chimerical, they will only help to breed a resentment which will spread like a forest fire throughout the Latin American continent and ruin the hope for closer relations between the two continents entertained by the few Americans who have taken pains to study our idiosyncrasies.

Now, we will endeavor to show just where Mr. Colby has misrepresented the truth in his appreciation of the work being done down here by the Americans. But before we proceed, we would like to impress upon the mind of every American the fact that Mr. Colby's act was inspired in that excess of patriotism which is apparent in the majority of the less informed Americans: their love for their country is such that they do not realize how any nation or people can prosper without the moral aid or material help of Uncle Sam. And this is doing more wrong to the American nation than is generally imagined!

We have just witnessed a fortunately bloodless war between Panama and Costa Rica. During the first few days of the threatened conflict Panama turned her eyes toward the Americans for arms and ammunition with which to carry on the defense of her invaded territory. According to an existing treaty, Uncle Sam must protect Panama in case of war. The arms and ammunition so urgently needed by Panama at

the time were, however, long in forthcoming, and the protection which Panama had a right to expect from the United States had to be looked for elsewhere.

There was some fighting done in the Coto region, invaded by the Costa Ricans. The Panamans compelled the enemy hordes to abandon the invaded territory; many prisoners were taken, and all this was achieved by precisely the same police force which Mr. Colby seems to have such a poor opinion of, to judge by the depreciatory way in which he alludes to it in his article under refutation.

All the protection given Panama by the Americans was the suggestion made by William Jennings Price, United States Minister to Panama, to Narciso Garay, Secretary of Foreign Relations of the republic, that Panama withdraw her troops from the invaded territory and that the United States would see that Costa Rica did the same. This suggestion was rejected by the Panama Government, as it was tantamount to proposing that the owners of a house infested with robbers abandon their premises while the police diplomatically convince the intruders to go on their way unmolested.

Americans have never assumed police duties in Panama. It is true, however, that detachments of marines have been landed in the cities of Panama and Colon and that some troops have been sent to the interior towns during election days, but the jurisdiction of these troops began and ended at the voting polls. They had nothing to do with the maintenance of order outside of these places and their duties were supposed to be confined to supervising the elections. This was done at the express request of the Panaman authorities as a means of guaranteeing fairness in the elections and never with the intention of preventing violence, as Mr. Colby wrongfully asserts in his article. The Panaman police force is quite capable of doing this without American interference.

The presence of American troops in Chiriqui was generally considered as an injustice to Panama. The reasons alleged for their continued stay in that region were as futile as can be possibly imagined. Mr. Colby speaks in his article of "American ranch owners" who requested that the troops stay there to protect their interests, and as a matter of fact there is only one ranch

owner of American nationality established in the Chiriqui Province. His property was generally respected, and the activities of the cattle thieves were confined to the ranchers of Latin extraction. Those ranchers were the first to impress upon the National Government the necessity of having the American troops withdrawn from the province.

The arrival of the American troops in Chiriqui concurred with the adoption of stringent measures on the part of the Panama Government to put an end to the cattle robberies in that region. The action was spontaneous and came as the natural consequence of the redoubled activities of the thieves. It was not an imposition of the Americans, but the local authorities' earnest intention of re-establishing order in that important section of the country.

Convictions were secured in court without the least trouble, once the guilt of the accused was definitely established. As a newspaper man in this country for the last ten years, the writer can assure that in the columns of the local papers there has never appeared an item attacking any native Judge for laxity in judicial affairs in this connection, as Mr. Colby asserts. It is true that the press attacked the police authorities or, to be more exact, one police authority for his apparent ineptitude to cope with the situation in Chiriqui. That authority is no other than A. R. Lamb, an American, whose services were hired by Panama to act as Inspector General of the police force.

Lamb had promised to work wonders in our police system; he had agreed to introduce wide-reaching reforms; he was bound under contract to make of our police an institution comparable in efficiency to any of the best American and European forces. The Chiriqui question was the first problem that he was called upon to solve. His appearance in Panama had been given such wide publicity, his aptitude had been so greatly exaggerated that it was only too natural that the people should be disappointed when they saw that the Chiriqui thieves continued to commit their robberies right under Inspector Lamb's very nose. The press protested, unjustly so, perhaps, but not against our Judges. Inspector Lamb was the bullseye of all the attacks. Time, however, has shown us that Lamb's presence in our police force has produced some

benefits and that he deserves much credit for the present efficiency of the force.

The American soldiers who were detailed for service in Chiriqui acted in a way which tended to increase rather than to decrease the ill-feelings entertained by the population against their presence there. They acted as conquerors and not as friends who were supposed to be on the best of terms with the native population. The most insignificant private had about him the airs and actions of a powerful tyrant when in the presence of the natives. They would boast of their power and speak with contempt of all our institutions, and would not pass by an opportunity of showing that, in all respects, they were the better and only men.

And this was not all. They carried their idea of power and conquest so far as to violate the sanctity of our mails, and it was with the greatest alarm and indignation that the people of Panama read about the raid that a group of American soldiers—at the command of precisely the same Sergeant to whom Colby refers in his article, saying that he had been recommended for the distinguished service medal—entered the Post Office at David, the capital of the Chiriqui Province, and by sheer force and regardless of the protests of the Postal Agent and his subordinates, opened every bag of mail and kept the letters addressed to the men of the post. The reason they gave for this action was that the employees of the David Post Office were very slow in sorting out and distributing the mail!

Does it not seem strange that an American who so acts should be recommended for such a high honor as the distinguished service medal? Is it nothing to wonder at that every native should ask that the American troops be removed from the Province? Does it seem possible that any Panaman would favor the continued stay of a group of soldiers who acted so tactlessly—to say

the least—with such a sacred thing as the postal institution of a foreign nation? The answers to these questions will suffice to convince every sound-minded American of the falsity of Mr. Colby's assertions in his contribution to CURRENT HISTORY.

But there is still another point that we should like to clear before ending this article, with which we hope to expose beyond a doubt the spirit in which Mr. Colby wrote his misstatements about Panama.

Fred Grant was a private in one of the American Army posts stationed in the Canal Zone. He carried on a love affair with a Nicaraguan girl, with whom, it is said, he lived a marital life. Grant felt a wild passion for the girl, and one day he conceived the crazy idea of taking her out for a ride in an automobile of his own. To that end he hired an auto and ordered the chauffeur to drive out with him toward the Sabanas Road, in the suburbs of Panama. There a bullet perforated Chauffeur Moreira's skull, ending his life, and Grant thus realized his dream of being the proud owner of an automobile. He took the machine to the Corozal post, repainted it, and returned to Panama later to take the girl out for a ride. The car was in Grant's possession for two or three days, until Inspector Lamb, his own countryman, arrested him as the murderer of Moreira, placing enough evidence before the jury to secure his conviction. He was sentenced to twenty years in jail.

Grant is the American soldier to whom Mr. Colby refers as having been sentenced to life imprisonment for a quarrel with a few natives. As to the woman who was sentenced to forty-nine days in jail, and who was released five days later, that case is a sheer invention; the annals of the Panama police show nothing of the kind.

ANGEL D. RODRIGUEZ,

*Former editor of the Panama Morning Journal
and assistant editor of the Diario de Panama.
Panama, March 24, 1921.*



PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

A Filipino student's reply to the contention that the Moros and the Christian Filipinos could not unite in the creation of an independent Government for the islands

To the Editor of Current History:

In the March number of *CURRENT HISTORY* there appears an article entitled "Filipino Independence and Moro Domination," written by Mr. Donald S. Root. Among those unfamiliar with actual conditions in the islands, that article is bound to create the same impression that earlier writings on the backward people of the country had created. Like all other articles written by opponents of Philippine independence, the one by Mr. Root draws a gruesome picture of the chaos that is supposed to be forthcoming should the Filipino people be turned loose to carve their own destiny.

It is not the object of the present writer to blur the facts set forth by Mr. Root as a basis for his stand on the Philippine independence issue. The episodes he describes are not questioned. It is his sweeping generalization that leads one to suspect that Mr. Root had already a preconceived opinion on the subject, which he wanted to crystallize by appropriate illustrations. Assuming, however, that he is one of those who have the best interests of the Filipino people at heart—a safe assumption, otherwise he would not have served the Philippine Government for six long years—his views may be considered as not distorted by prejudice.

But, granting that in some localities such conditions as were found by Mr. Root existed up to 1918, it does not necessarily follow that similar conditions exist everywhere else. To judge America by the impressions gained in its big cities, where a vast number of unassimilated foreign immigrants are found, is to misjudge America; likewise, to judge the Filipino people by impressions obtained from the backward peoples and from the backward places is to misjudge and to misrepresent the whole Filipino race.

Mr. Foster of Reed College sets forth four fundamental principles for testing the validity of any generalization: (1) Is the relative size of the unobserved part of the class so small as to warrant the generaliza-

tion? (2) Are the observed members fair samples of the class? (3) Are we reasonably sure that there are no exceptions? (4) Is it highly probable that such a general rule or statement is true?

Mr. Root, in the first place, as he himself intimates, was stationed in Mindanao and Sulu all the time that he was in the Philippines. But Mindanao and Sulu are only a small portion of the Philippines from the standpoint of population. If a part can be considered equal to the whole, then Mr. Root's contention is irrefutable. But statistics show that less than one-tenth of the entire population live in Mindanao and Sulu. To say that the Filipino people are not yet ready for self-government simply because a small fraction of them are ignorant of law and order—assuming that all the Moros are still so—is evidently fallacious and cannot stand our first test. Taking this with the fact that the Moros had no chance to develop themselves during the Spanish régime, it at once follows that they cannot be taken as fair samples of the class. If the Moros constitute but a small portion of the population of the country, and if they are not fair samples of the class, no general statement such as Mr. Root has made can reasonably be probable.

It is not fair to judge a people wholly by their past. It is true that the Moros were at one time feared by not a few people in the northern islands. But the piracy and outlawry so vividly brought out in Mr. Root's article are a thing of the past. This fact is borne out by the following memorandum of Colonel Ole Waloe, commanding officer of the constabulary in the Department of Sulu and Mindanao, issued on Nov. 23, 1918:

1. As late as 1885 the Spanish Government pardoned Datu Pedro Cuevas and his gang of escaped convicts on condition that they protect the town of Isabela, Basilan, from further attacks of the Joloano and Yakan Moros, notwithstanding the place was at that time protected by an excellent fort.

2. In 1904 this same Datu Cuevas wrote the Governor that he had captured three

pirates, and, after investigating them, had had them shot.

3. During 1908 no less than six different outlaw bands operated at various times during the year on Basilan in such alarming force that it was necessary to send four companies of United States Infantry and two companies of constabulary to that island.

4. For the years 1908-1909 37 outlaws were reported killed, captured and wounded; for 1910-1911, 28; for 1912-1913, 40; for 1914, 23; for 1915, 1, and for 1916-1917, none. This great change from the spirit of outlawry and piracy, coming down from the Spanish régime, to peace and industry, was brought about almost entirely by the sympathetic attitude and friendly interest of the department Government toward the Moros and pagan tribes of the province. Force without limit had been used for 300 years, but apparently with little, if any, permanent result.

5. For the last four years the number of grave crimes in the Province of Zamboanga has been less than that in the department's most advanced Christian province for the same period.

Contrary to the prediction of the calamity howlers, the Christian Filipino officers of the constabulary have succeeded completely in winning the confidence of the Moros

The foregoing testimony, furnished by an American officer, is the best indication of the ability of the Philippine Government to deal with the lawless elements among the Moros. Unfortunately, Mr. Root, in his connection with the Philippine constabulary, an insular police organization, had to deal more with the lawless than with the peaceful people, and is therefore prone, like any one else under similar conditions, to be rather uncompromising in his interpretation of facts and too drastic in his conclusions.

The Philippine Government, like all others, has its problems. The Moro problem, acknowledged to be the most difficult, is not nearly as intricate as the race and immigration problems in America. As the following facts disclose, the Government is succeeding wonderfully in solving the Moro problem in the way it ought to be solved:

1. During the school year 1918-19 the average daily attendance of the schools was 23,953. The number of teachers employed was 1,061, a majority of whom hail from the Christian provinces.

2. There are seventeen dispensaries, which for the most part are located in remote communities. Approximately 30,000 children are treated each year in these dispensaries.

3. The Philippine Legislature has appropriated \$500,000 to aid such Christian Filipinos from Luzon and the Visayan Islands as may desire to migrate to Mindanao and Sulu, and

establish agricultural colonies. The object of these colonies is not only the development of the vast fields that have not yet been touched by the hands of man, but "also the amalgamation of Christian and Mohammedan Filipinos." The plan has proved a success, as admitted even by its opponents.

The restlessness among the Moros in the past was due to the fact that they were not given fair play and a square deal. They were hunted like criminals, instead of being given a chance to develop. The migration to Mindanao and Sulu of the Christian Filipinos, the opening of agricultural schools and the improvement of sanitary conditions are some of the forces that have been operating to bring about the existing friendly relations between the Christian Filipinos and the Mohammedans. That such a friendly relation now exists is confirmed by the annual report, Dec. 31, 1919, of Mr. Luther B. Bewley, Director of Education in the Philippines, in which he made the following statement:

Today the Philippine Government has the united support of the more intelligent of the Mohammedan Filipinos. Six of the highest ranking Mohammedan princesses of the Sultanate of Sulu are now teaching in the public schools. There are today in the provinces of Sulu, Lanao and Cotabato forty-two young men and young women of the Mohammedan faith teaching in the public schools.

Mr. H. G. Rasul, son of former Senator Hadji Butu of Jolo and adopted son of the Sultan of Sulu, who is in Washington taking courses in diplomacy and law, says:

Christian and Mohammedan Filipinos are one in spirit and one in blood. Education and personal contact are solving everything. I can speak for ourselves and am for the Filipino independence.

The statement of a Moslem Third Member of the subprovince of Zamboanga also is significant:

He who thinks that it is impossible for the Moslem and the Filipino to live together in peace and participate together in government is foolish and lacks wisdom.

Even Hadji Butu, who was cited by Mr. Root as not in accord with the Philippine independence movement, expressed himself on the relations between the Christian and Mohammedan Filipinos: "We are one in spirit and one in blood."

The transformation of the Mindanao and Sulu region is best described in the following words by ex-Director of Education Dr.

W. W. Marquardt, who has been in the Philippines for eighteen years:

The Spanish outpost at Jolo is a clubhouse for the Jolo Golf Association, and where the Spaniards once shot at Sulu chiefs the American golf ball now endangers the life of the Sulu caddy. Datu Piang rejoices in the prowess of his sons in the manly art. Baseball has become a distinct moral force, and the younger is no longer found at the cock-pits.

The above facts are an eloquent testimonial that the Moros of generations ago are no longer the Moros of today.

Multiplicity of languages is an old contention against Philippine independence. Switzerland has been able to survive, despite the presence of a number of languages. It is true that many dialects are spoken in the Philippines, but there are three main languages, any one of which can be spoken by the great majority. In view, besides, of a fairly general knowledge of Spanish and English, particularly the latter, with its unifying influence, only a pessimist can question the strong solidarity of the country.

Does the fact that three teachers in the back country cannot speak intelligible English prove Mr. Root's assertion that the progress in English is slow? To know what a people really is capable of doing, it is not fair to base judgment on impressions in the back country, where conditions are most unfavorable. Dr. W. W. Marquardt, one of the greatest living authorities on this sub-

ject, in view of his eighteen years of experience in the islands, says: "If you go from Zamboanga to Aparri, you always find the native able to converse with you in English." Statistics show that in 1919 474 took civil service examinations in Spanish and 11,600 took them in English, whereas fifteen years ago 3,555 took them in Spanish and only 2,917 in English.

Professor Monroe substantiates the above facts in the following significant statement, made after personally investigating the educational conditions in the country:

It seems probable to an observer that greater educational progress has been made in the Philippine Islands in ten or twelve years than in any similar period or in any place in the history of education.

The fact is that today 25 per cent. of the people write and speak English fluently, with 866,000 pupils studying the language.

No one can judge the ability of the Filipino people to manage their own affairs and solve their own problems unless they are given the chance to do it themselves. The question of Philippine independence will forever remain an academic question enshrouded with speculative opinions unless it be actually put to a practical test. Such a policy is consonant with the spirit of "square deal" and "fair play," the dominant note of American idealism.

VENANCIO TRINIDAD,

Filipino Student at Iowa State Teachers' College.

Cedar Falls, Iowa, April 2, 1921.

MESOPOTAMIA AND THE BRITISH MANDATE

ON Feb. 16, Bonar Law, Government leader in the British House of Commons, in reply to a demand made by W. Joynson-Hicks on the Prime Minister that a copy of the Mesopotamia mandate be laid on the table, set forth the unusual proposition that not only must it be submitted to the League of Nations first, but that there was no power afterward to revoke it, even in regard to its financial responsibility. He added that otherwise "it would really mean that the League of Nations could not carry on its functions."

The foregoing statement throws a flood of light on the British note, conciliatory but firm in rejection, sent the Washington

Government on March 5, in answer to Secretary Colby's demand for equal opportunity for United States nationals in the economic employment of Mesopotamia.

Meanwhile, the news to the Arabs that the Allies were contemplating a change of heart, not only toward the Constantinople Government, but also toward that of Angora, caused them to co-operate with the British in the restoration of peace with more enthusiasm. The vernacular press of Bagdad regards the return of King Constantine to the throne as very bad for Greece, but a real benefactor to Irak—provided the Allies "punish him by taking from him what rightfully belongs to Turkey."

PROSPEROUS TIMES IN NEW ZEALAND

By TOM L. MILLS

Editor of The Star, Feilding, New Zealand

IT has been reported by observant New Zealanders who have recently returned from tours abroad, including sojourns in the United States and Canada, that New Zealand still remains the land of the happiest conditions and of the most reasonable rates of living. At the time of writing (the opening of the new year) there is not a single strike or lock-out in any part of the dominion. New Zealand, industrially, works under a system of conciliation and arbitration in the compulsory settlement of disputes. Nor have we any problem of unemployment as yet to solve.

Wages have shown a general increase in all branches of activity. The industrial awards of the Arbitration Board at the beginning of January recognized the minimum wage for the lowest class of male adult unskilled workers as \$23 for a week of 48 hours, which is \$1.50 higher than the basic wage recently recognized by the Board of Trade of New South Wales, the mother State of Australia.

As to the skilled trades, wages have increased very much over the pre-war rates. The pay of linotype operators and others in the printing and kindred trades has gone up 80 per cent., taking into the calculation the increased-cost-of-living bonuses awarded periodically, on the call of the labor unions, by the Arbitration Court. Linotype operators in our cities are earning \$40 a week. Compositors who were paid \$17 a week in 1914 are today paid \$28.50. Drivers of horse vehicles and stable hands who before the war received \$10.50 a week now get \$20.50. The carpenter and builder who six years ago was in receipt of \$3 for an eight-hour day now gets \$5 or \$6 a day for a 45-hour week—and there is just as great a demand for homes and as great a housing problem in New Zealand today as in America or any other part of the world.

As regards prices, official records compiled by Government departments show that for the general group of grocery supplies the increase in 1920, compared with 1914, is 47.50 per cent.; for dairy produce, 58 per cent., and for meat, 40 per cent. Here are some individual quotations concerning

the essentials of our everyday life: Sugar in 1914 was 7 cents over the counter, and today it is 15 cents. A 100-pound bag of flour was \$3.50, and is now \$6. Coffee was 50 cents a pound, and is now 66 cents. Candles were 20 cents a pound, and are now 36 cents. Bacon was 30 cents a pound, and is now 46 cents. Kerosene was \$5.50 a case, and today \$7.50 is charged. A suit of clothes, made of either New Zealand or imported English tweed or worsted, in 1914 sold for \$32, but today the charge is \$64. A ready-to-wear suit six years ago sold for \$21, but the same kind of suit today costs \$37.50.

The greatest post-war problem that our dominion had to face was that of the settlement of returned soldiers on the land. A tremendous proportion of these men desired to become settlers, so that the Land and Survey Department could not get new lands opened up fast enough to meet the demand. Consequently, numerous large private estates were acquired by the Government and cut up into suitable farm lots for the boys who came back from the war. The result has been a boom in settlement, and already the increase in production is making itself felt. Very many of the soldier settlers have taken up dairying, and there are soldier settlements dotted all over the land, especially in the North Island. Up to this writing, the Government has expended over \$100,000,000 under the Settlement of Discharged Soldiers act, and another loan of \$25,000,000 has just been subscribed within the dominion for the same purpose. Approximately 14,000 returned soldiers have been provided with land within the five years of the scheme's operation, and the total area of rural land now under settlement is 2,156,555 acres.

The equable climate of the dominion, as it becomes better known overseas, is inducing farmers to come from Canada and the frozen places of America to farm in a country where—for the most part—milch cows are out in the open all the year round, and where there is no interruption from January to December in outdoor operations on the land.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

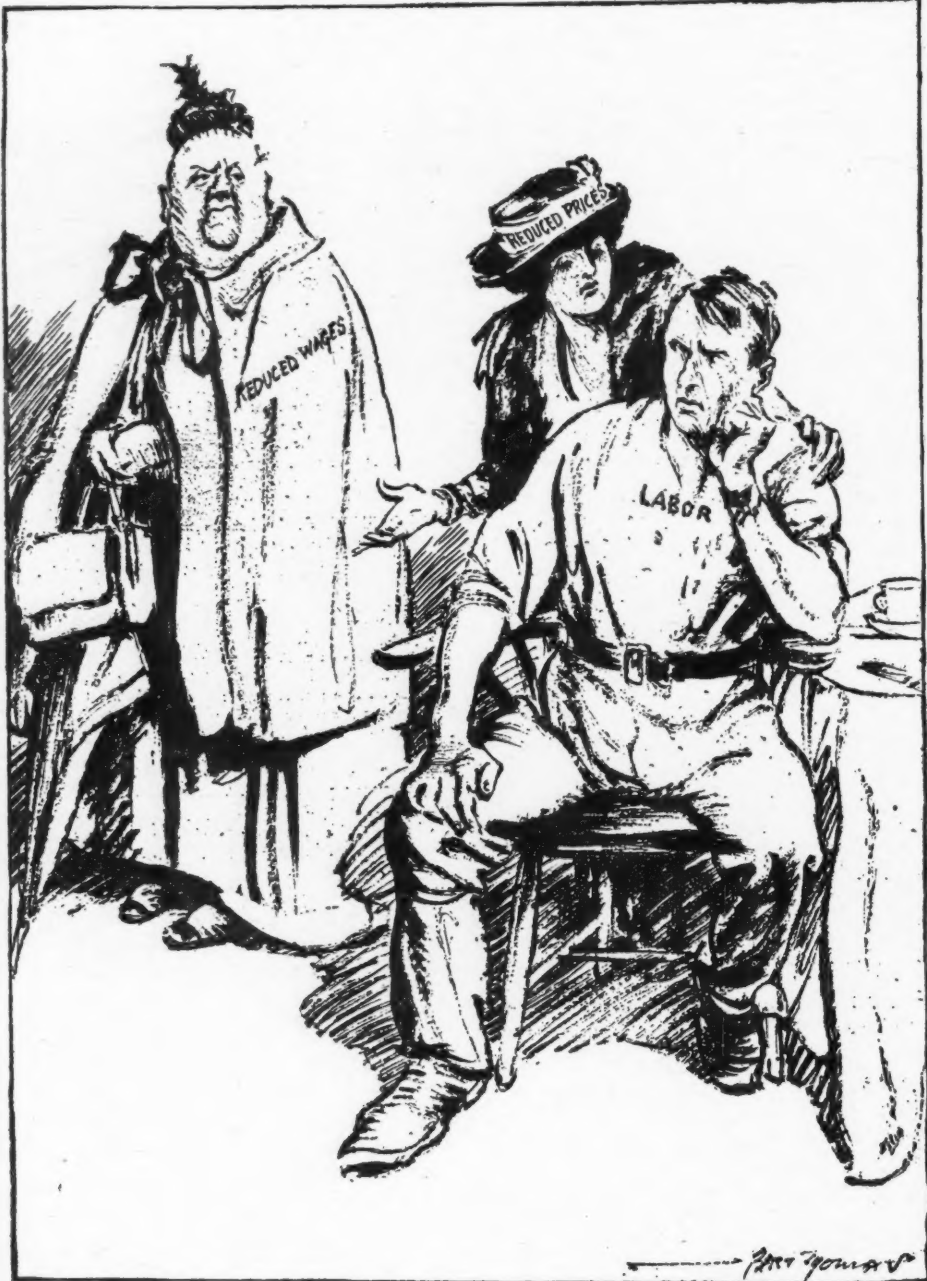
[English Cartoon]
THE SAME OLD STORY



—The Passing Show, London.
St. Lloyd George (at frequent intervals): "Onward! I will now polish off this monster."

[English Cartoon]

THE INEVITABLE MOTHER-IN-LAW



—London Opinion.

The New Bride: "You must remember, dear, it was always understood that Mother should come and live with us when we were married."

[Though this is an English cartoon, its smiling point applies almost equally well to the situation in the United States.]

[American Cartoon]

"BETTER BE CAREFUL THAN SORRY!"



SPIVAK

—Dayton News.

Persuading Germany to Pay

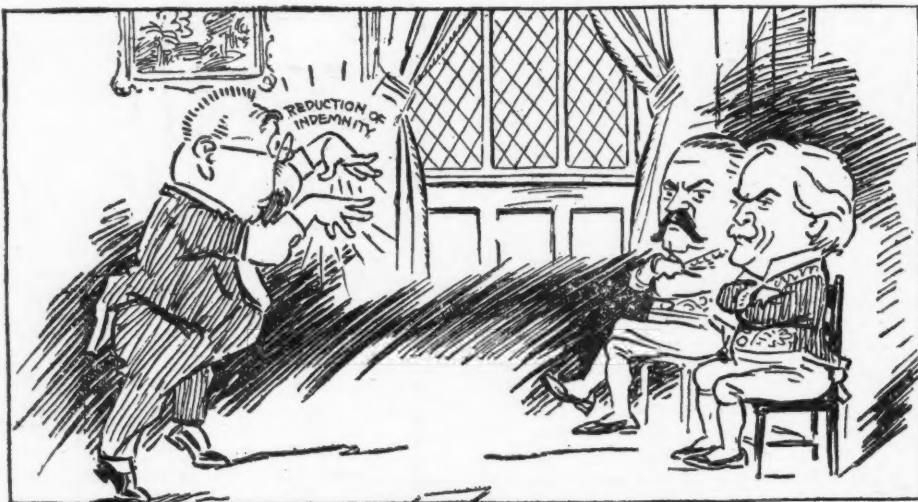
THE penalties imposed by the Allies upon the Germans for having failed to meet the reparations demands of the Paris Conference or offer a substitute that could be seriously considered included the military occupation of the towns of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort in Germany's greatest industrial district and the establishment of Rhine customs lines. The duties collected are to be applied to the reparations account.

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association.

THE MESMERIST



—News of the World, London

SIMPLE VON SIMONS: "Gott in Himmel! Works it does not—yes—no!"

[American Cartoon]
THE SITUATION AT YAP



—Central Press Association, Cleveland.

THE little Island of Yap in the Caroline group has assumed an importance altogether out of proportion to its size by reason of its having been included in the mandate accorded to Japan by the League of Nations Council. Yap is one of the landing places of the cable over which the United States transmits its dispatches to the Philippines and the Far East, and it can be readily understood how intolerable it would be to have such dispatches subjected to Japanese censorship. When the matter of the disposition of the islands was before the Peace Conference President Wilson objected, he declares, to the inclusion of Yap. The Japanese assert, however, that there is no record of this objection in the minutes of the conference. The United States has addressed a note to the Council of the League of Nations on the subject, but has been referred back to the Supreme Council,

[American Cartoon]

The New Ship of State

THOUGH Mexico under Obregon seems to have entered on an era of peace and prosperity, the question of the oil fields still remains a troublesome one between that country and the United States. It is asserted that American owners and operators in the oil district are oppressed by Government edicts amounting almost to confiscation of their property. The United States has not yet recognized the Obregon Government, and one of the conditions of recognition will probably be a satisfactory adjustment of the oil problem.



—Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

"Nipped in the Bud"



—Los Angeles Times.

A SMALL war was threatened when Costa Rican forces invaded Panama Feb. 21, 1921, to take possession of a section of land that had been awarded to Costa Rica in a boundary dispute. Excitement ensued, and clashes took place between the forces of Panama and the invaders. The United States Government promptly intervened. Secretary Hughes on March 5 sent identical notes to Panama and Costa Rica, practically declaring that they must settle the matter peacefully or this country would take the matter in hand. An armistice was speedily arranged.

[English Cartoon]
"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"



—London Opinion.

Hock the Jewelry



—Sioux City Tribune.

Sounds Funny in German, Doesn't It?



—Indianapolis News.

[American Cartoon]

Hotfooting the Road He Swore He'd Never Tread



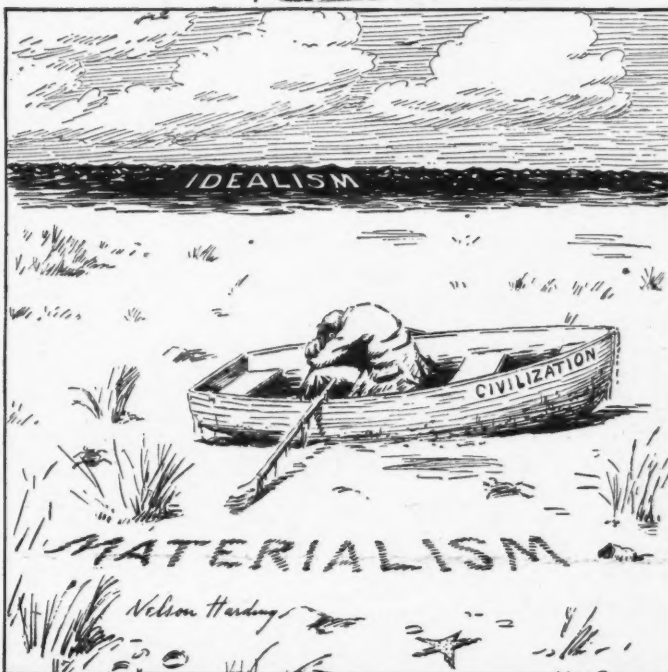
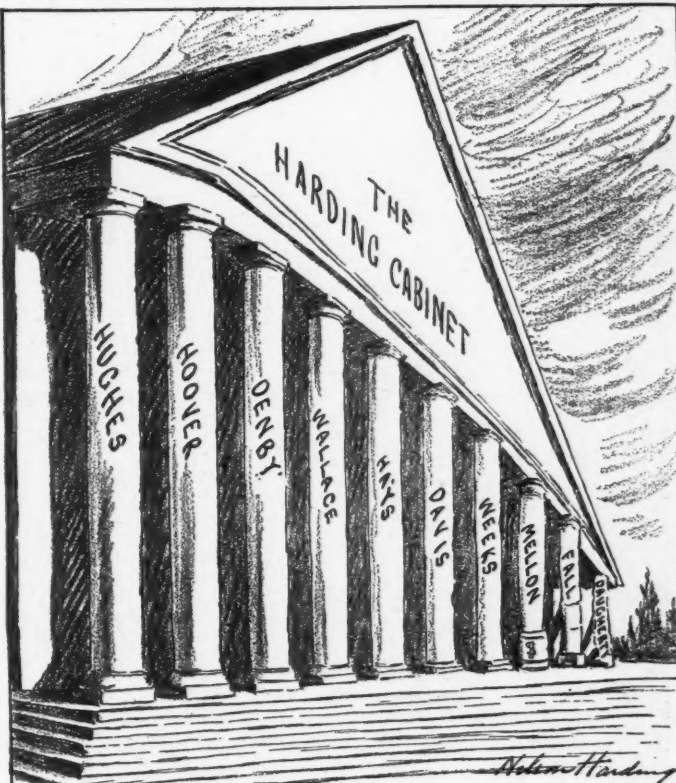
—Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

One Artist's View of the New Cabinet

—Brooklyn Eagle.

IN the new Harding Cabinet two figures are of international importance. Secretary of State Hughes has twice been Governor of New York State, has served six years as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1916 was the candidate of the Republican Party for President. Secretary of Commerce Hoover is known the world over for his wonderful work as head of the United States Relief Administration.



[American Cartoon]

Ebb Tide

—Brooklyn Eagle.

HUMAN nature is at its best in a great emergency, as was evidenced when America arose at the call of patriotism, forgetting the more sordid things that had previously occupied the foremost place. But such a high level cannot be long maintained, and later comes the inevitable reaction, when idealism recedes and materialism again asserts its power.

[German Cartoon]

THE SUMMIT OF CIVILIZATION



—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart.

[English Cartoon]
A SUSPICIOUS EGG



—The Passing Show, London.

GERMAN EAGLE: "How on earth did that one get there? I don't see how I'm going to hatch it."

[American Cartoon]

Beginning to Sit Up and Take Notice



—Cincinnati Post.

The Tariff and Immigration Questions



© Chicago Tribune.

[American Cartoon]
EASTER OFFERINGS



—New York Times.

Now to Deliver the Goods!



—Los Angeles Times.

"But Look at My Halo!"



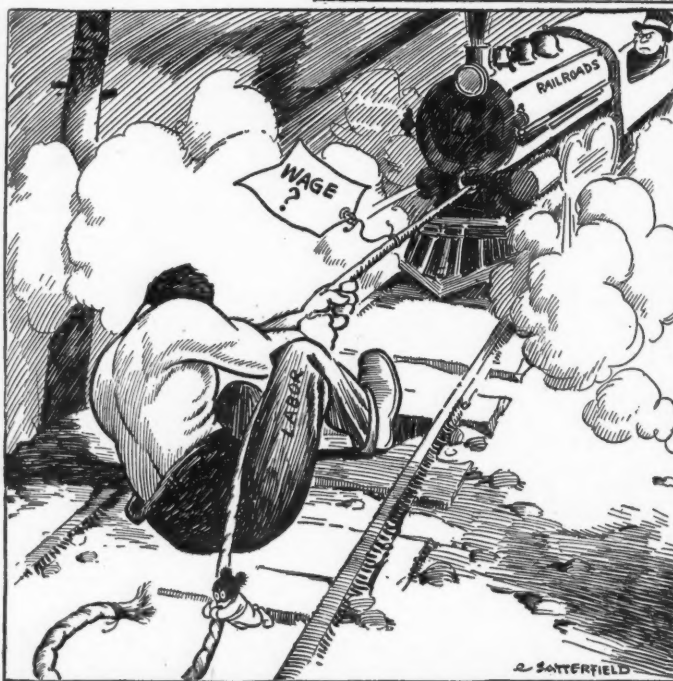
—New York World.

[American Cartoon]

**Well, Don't Sit There
and Let Him Starve
to death!**

—*New York Tribune.*

THE railroad situation in the United States is one of the most disquieting with which the business men and governmental authorities have to deal. When the railroads were turned back by the Government to private ownership and operation, it was thought that the guarantee of earnings for a limited period and the higher freight and passenger rates permitted would put the roads on a solid footing. But the higher rates proved a boomerang, for passenger traffic fell off to a greater degree than was compensated for by the higher rates, and the loss in shipments has resulted in a great shrinkage of income.



[American Cartoon]

The Tug of War

—*Newspaper Enterprise Association.*

THE shrinkage in freight and passenger traffic prompted the railroads to seek a revocation of the wage rate granted by the Government to railroad employees. Practically all the roads announced a forthcoming wage cut, ranging from 20 to 30 per cent. The employees resisted this and appealed to the Railway Labor Board, which suspended the cuts until it had found time to grant a full hearing to both sides.

THE attempt of ex-Emperor Charles to gain possession of the throne of Hungary ended in ignominious failure. There were two or three days when it seemed possible that the strong monarchical sentiment in Hungary might justify the Hapsburg hope. But the prompt action of the Allies in warning Hungary that the restoration of the former Emperor would have disastrous consequences for the country, coupled with the threat of war by the "Little Entente," doomed the attempt, and Charles returned disheartened to Switzerland.

[American Cartoons]

There's a New Cop on the Beat



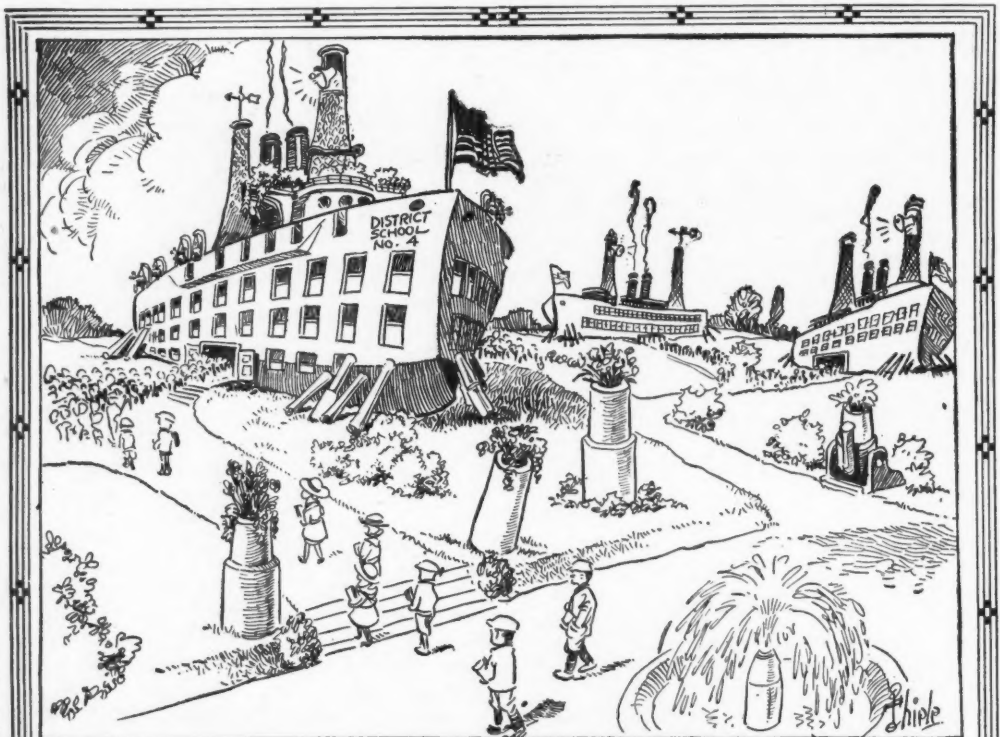
—New York Evening Mail

Not Clear Over There

THE situation of the United States is to a certain extent ambiguous, owing to the fact that while hostilities have ended between this country and Germany, the two nations are still technically at war. One of the first tasks that await the new Administration is the signing of a treaty of peace with Germany. Whether this will be a distinct document, similar to the Knox resolution, or a modified adherence to the Treaty of Versailles, is a matter on which the cartoonist has ventured a "pointed" but non-committal comment.



—New York Evening Mail



[American
Cartoons]

Practical Disarm- ament!

Let us beat
a few of those
\$40,000,000
battleships in-
to school-
houses.

—*Sioux City
Tribune.*

Not Yet,
But Soon

—*Newspaper
Enterprise As-
sociation.*

THE ENGLISH LABOR REVOLT

Strike of the coal miners, and the series of dramatic events that averted a sympathetic strike of the railway and transport workers—Resignation of Mr. Bonar Law and election of Mr. Chamberlain as Unionist leader in the House of Commons

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

THE signing of a trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, the continued warfare in Ireland, the increase of unemployment—these and all other current political problems in England dwindled into comparative insignificance before the very real danger brought to the home threshold by the labor crisis.

The crisis was precipitated by the decision of the Government, as approved by a vote in the House of Commons on March 9, to discontinue Government control of the coal industry at the end of March instead of at the end of August, as proposed in the Coal Mines (Emergency) act of last year. By so doing the Government contended that, instead of being guilty of the breach of faith charged, it had satisfied the desires of both owners and miners, besides saving the taxpayers £5,000,000 a month in subsidies to the miners.

Premier Lloyd George, at a luncheon in the House of Commons on March 23, said of British labor: "Although the peril of war has passed away, a new danger threatens our country. That danger is the phenomenal rise to power of a new party with new purposes of the most subversive character. It calls itself Labor; it is really Socialist, and even now the real danger is not fully realized." Lloyd George went on to declare that socialism was fighting to destroy everything that the great prophets and leaders of both parties had labored for generations to build up; parliamentary institutions, he said, were just as much menaced as private enterprise, and he warned those who belittled the danger to remember that a change of 4 per cent. in the voting would put the Socialists in the majority. The Premier pointed out that in the new army of labor the real leaders were not Messrs. Clynes, Thomas or Henderson, but the corporals with whom you never came into contact. They had no responsibility. Once they were in Parliament it was

these juntas behind who would say: "This is what you have to do, and if you do not do it some one will be put in your place."

Meanwhile negotiations between the mine owners and miners proceeded, but came to a deadlock on March 24. The miners stood out for the principle of a standard rate of wages throughout the country, while the owners wanted each district to adopt a rate suited to its own circumstances. The miners, however, made it plain that their quarrel was not with the owners, who, they admitted, were unable to meet their demands, but with the Government. They insisted that the State should come to the help of industry and provide the money for higher wages and help unprofitable collieries to keep at work, a condition absolutely rejected by the Government. This situation continued until March 30, when the Miners' Federation executives sent instructions to every district to withdraw all colliery workers at the expiration of the time limit given to employers, viz.: midnight of the 31st. It was also decided to withdraw the pump men and engine winders, so that for the first time "safety workers" were ordered to come out in support of a national strike. These instructions meant the flooding of the mines, a threatened industrial disaster of the first magnitude, since it might have become impossible to work many of the pits again. In view of this most serious situation a royal proclamation was simultaneously issued declaring Great Britain in "a state of emergency." This was the first time that an industrial crisis had been so designated. It empowered the Government to apply certain special measures provided for under an act passed by Parliament last October, at the period of another mining difficulty, but not put into force owing to the reaching of a settlement.

Promptly at midnight on the 31st work came to a standstill in practically all the coal mines. At the outset there was no

disorder, but an immediate effect was the closing down of steel works in South Wales and the throwing out of work of 11,000 dockers. On April 3 the Board of Trade issued orders rationing coal for the British Isles, and reports from the coal fields indicated that disastrous consequences had already followed withdrawing labor from the pumps. Water in great volume was pouring into the mines.

By April 3, interest became centred on the action of the railway men and transport workers, who were debating in mass meetings the question of supporting the coal miners' strike. In order to cope with this double emergency the Government took upon itself far-reaching powers, by which the various Ministries and departments were authorized not only to take over the coal mines and coal stocks, but to assume practically complete control of everything connected with food supply and road transport, water, gas and electricity, tramways and light railways, harbors, shipping and export trades. Military movements began on a considerable scale on the night of April 4.

While the general public maintained an appearance of outward calm, realization of the seriousness of the situation was manifested in steadily increasing gloom. April 8 proved to be a day of sensational incidents. Early in the morning the railway men and transport workers threw in their lot with the miners, and a sympathetic strike of 2,500,000 seemed certain. The time set for it was April 12.

By April 10 signs multiplied everywhere that public opinion, as a whole, was back of the Government in a determination to prevent a wholesale and irreparable disaster to British industry. The Government was credited with having saved the mines by insisting upon the resumption of pumping while the truce lasted. In Scotland, however, twenty pits, employing 21,000 men, had been flooded, and in England and Wales eighteen pits, employing 6,000 men. There were five mines which, it was feared, could never be restored. The strike was estimated as costing Great Britain £15,300,000 weekly.

The conference of April 11 was in session for a total period of six hours without tangible results. When the Premier and the union delegates met again the next day,

the conference ended in failure. The Triple alliance agreed to postpone the sympathetic strike for at least twenty-four hours, but on the 13th it announced that all its members would be ordered to walk out at 10 P. M., Friday, April 15. It was a declaration of war, threatening ultimately to throw millions out of employment.

Late in the evening of the 14th the miners' Secretary, Frank Hodges, gave hope of a further truce by offering to discuss wages with the owners and the Government if the larger issues—a national wages board and a national profits pool—were separated from wages and considered later.

This offer revolutionized the whole situation. Mr. Hodges had made the proposition at a meeting with a number of Members of Parliament, and it was these M. P.'s, not the Premier, who carried on the negotiations on the 15th which finally averted the Triple Alliance strike. When the railway men and transport workers heard of Mr. Hodge's offer, they jumped at the idea, supporting it in the conference. To their astonishment, however, the striking miners repudiated their own secretary, refusing to



AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Former Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has been chosen to succeed Bonar Law as leader in the House of Commons

go into further conferences with the mine owners and insisting that the general strike be called.

At this point the disagreements that had been latent throughout the crisis came to a head, and a stormy meeting of the three branches of the Triple Alliance ensued. The upshot of it was that the railway men and



(Underwood & Underwood)

LEONID KRASSIN

Head of the Russian mission that negotiated the trade treaty with Britain

transport workers refused to go on with their sympathetic strike, and the larger catastrophe that had been threatening the United Kingdom was averted. The miners' strike continued, but it had lost a further share of public opinion. A definite split had taken place in the ranks of labor, dividing the older school—which was fighting for the wage issue alone—from the newer and radical wing, which was fighting for political control of the Government itself. There was general rejoicing, after the momentous developments of that 15th day of April, over the partial clearing of the skies, though



(Photo International)

SIR ROBERT HORNE

Former President of British Board of Trade, who negotiated the Anglo-Russian trade agreement, and who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer

the coal miners' strike continued to cripple industries.

The basic wage of the British miner in 1920 was \$4.38 for a seven-hour day. The last two months of Government control of the mining industry had cost Great Britain approximately \$35,000,000. The "Triple Alliance" that had threatened a general strike included 1,200,000 miners, 400,000 railway men, and 300,000 transport workers, but a general strike would have thrown nearly 8,000,000 persons into idleness.

* * *

A sensation ran through political circles on March 17, when Andrew Bonar Law unexpectedly resigned from his leadership in the House of Commons and from his office of Lord Privy Seal in the Cabinet. His health, he explained, had been gradually failing under the stress of the last few years. In speaking of the event at the first dinner of the 1920 Club, Mr. Lloyd George paid a high tribute to the capability of his late colleague, adding:

When I see one chieftain after another with whom I have been in action during great events falling under the weight of his armor, I do not mind telling you I am becoming very lonely. Public life in these days

is an almost intolerable strain, and there is nothing I would like better than to retire from that strain and be a spectator and witness of events.

Mr. Bonar Law had been the Unionist Party leader in the Commons, while Lord Curzon occupied a similar position in the upper house. Thus the Coalition Government was threatened with a crisis by Bonar Law's retirement, since Mr. Lloyd George, theoretically a Liberal, could not lead the Unionists. This danger, however, was removed by the unanimous election of J. Austen Chamberlain to the Unionist leadership at a meeting of the party on March 21. In accepting the position, Mr. Chamberlain made use of an expression which was said to be entirely indicative of his

character. "If I have not seemed specially to court your good-will," he said, "believe me, I have profoundly desired to deserve it." So far from his ever having courted favor, it was remarked that he had hidden from all but a few intimates his many claims to favor and popularity. On subsequently entering the House of Commons the new leader was greeted with a great cheer by the Coalitionists of both camps, and on March 23 the announcement was made of Mr. Chamberlain's appointment as Lord Privy Seal in succession to Mr. Bonar Law. Sir Robert Horne, former President of the London Board of Trade, who had negotiated the famous Anglo-Russian trade agreement with Leonid Krassin, succeeded Mr. Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

WAITING FOR HOME RULE IN IRELAND

Appointment of Lord Edmund Talbot as Lord Lieutenant not accepted as an olive branch by the Sinn Feiners—New developments in the warfare of assassinations and reprisals

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

FOR the first time since Tyrconnell in 1687 a Roman Catholic was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland when Lord Edmund Talbot was named on April 2 to succeed Field Marshal Viscount French. A special clause in the new Home Rule act made this possible. Also Lord Edmund Talbot became the first Viceroy in Ireland under the new Home Rule act, his great function being to summon the two Parliaments of Southern and Northern Ireland, respectively. Much was hoped from this appointment, since, as a member of one of the most ancient English Catholic families, it was supposed Lord Edmund would be well received by the Catholics of Ireland, while, on the other hand, a man of his gentleness of nature could hardly be objectionable to the Protestants of the North. But though the Irish press conceded that it was a notable event—another of the religious barriers against the Irish people removed—Lord Edmund was attacked personally as a "rabid Tory partisan," who fought the shadow of coercion in the Protestant North, just as he fought bitterly to impose coercion on the Catholic South.

Otherwise Irish political circles were occupied chiefly with plans for the forthcoming elections. The necessary preliminaries to bring the Home Rule act into operation were fixed to take place on April 19, and the date for the proclamation of the elections was set for May 3. While the Sinn Fein decided to contest every seat in Southern Ireland, it was announced on April 7 that Joseph Devlin, Nationalist M. P. for Belfast, and Eamon de Valera, Irish Republican leader, had ratified an agreement by which the Sinn Fein Constitutional and Nationalist Parties would present a united front to the Unionist forces in the North of Ireland. Further, all candidates had agreed to accept the principle of self-determination for Ireland, and had pledged themselves to abstain from sitting in the Irish Parliament if elected.

Meanwhile the list of battles, ambushes and reprisals continued to lengthen. Moving scenes were witnessed in Dublin on the morning of March 14, during the execution of six young men convicted of murder in connection with the shooting of British officers on Nov. 2. While the executions were being carried out huge crowds assembled

outside Mountjoy Prison and the rosary was recited at each hour. No sound issued from the prison precincts, no bell was tolled, not even a black flag was flown. Thousands upon thousands, men, women, children, youths and maidens, knelt on the wet ground around the prison walls and on the neighboring streets and roadways, praying earnestly and singing hymns which formed a customary part of Catholic devotions. These were the only sounds that broke the stillness. For three hours after the executions had taken place there was an entire stoppage of labor in the city, consequent upon a declaration of the Labor Party that the hours until 11 o'clock were to be spent in mourning as a solemn protest against the executions.

At a meeting of the Dublin Corporation a resolution of sympathy with the relatives of the deceased was passed in silence. A curious penalty was subsequently visited upon a man charged with working during the hours of mourning. He was found chained to the railing of the Pro-Cathedral in Marlborough Street, and though crowds passed him by no one attempted to liberate him until the police came.

Among the Irish reprisals which promptly followed the executions Constable O'Kane was shot dead in Clifden, County Galway, on March 16, and another constable was wounded. Later, the Archbishop of Tuam, in a letter condemning these reprisals and the failure to obey his call for a cessation of executions by the Republican forces, said: "I must give my people moral guidance, even if corrupt politicians turn gospel teachings to bad ends." The Archbishop again urged the Government, as the stronger side, to call a truce and initiate peace negotiations.

In the five days preceding and including March 23 the casualties reported in Ireland, comprising Crown forces, Sinn Feiners and civilians, totaled sixty-three killed and sixty-seven wounded. The Crown forces had lost five killed and five wounded in the ambush of a party of the Ninth Lancers at Scramoge, County Roscommon, while the Sinn Feiners lost but one killed. The First Royal Fusiliers also lost heavily when their train was attacked near Headford Junction, County Kerry, March 21. As the train neared a cutting it was fired upon from both sides. The soldiers promptly detained

and engaged the enemy. The fight lasted until another train with troop reinforcements arrived. The casualties numbered for the Crown forces one officer and eight men killed and ten wounded, one civilian killed and two wounded and four Sinn Feiners killed.

Pandemonium was reported as prevailing in Westport, County Mayo, on March 20 when Crown forces, in turn, engaged in reprisals for an ambush near that place. While continuous gunfire went on in various parts of the town, houses and shops were wrecked with bombs, and furniture and other effects burned.

In a big raid carried out on March 26 in Molesworth Street, Dublin, the Government authorities found what they believed to be the headquarters of the Sinn Fein propaganda department, and made the largest capture of literature yet found in Ireland. The office equipment was elaborate, but as the raid was conducted after curfew no one was found on the premises.

Heavy weekly casualties were again reported among the Crown forces on April 1. The military had thirteen killed and fourteen wounded. There were twenty-six attacks on the Crown forces, of which twenty-two were ambushes. Sinn Fein assassinations of civilians, the motive for which was presumed to be friendly relations of the victims with the police and military, numbered six.

What was described by residents of Harcourt Street, Dublin, as "the fiercest outbreak since the Easter rebellion" occurred on April 6, when a lorry containing members of the Worcestershire Regiment was bombed and fired upon from behind the protection of stone pillars at the entrance to Harcourt Street Station. A heavy fire was also opened from the station roof, and at least one bomb was thrown from that point. When the attackers were driven off three civilians were found dead and one wounded. One officer was wounded.

Sinn Fein plotting in England was credited with a series of incendiary fires on the night of March 18 in the Surrey outskirts of London; also on farms near Newcastle on March 26. A raid on a Sinn Fein club in Manchester led to some casualties.

In response to an appeal for the women and children made homeless by the fighting in Ireland, President Harding on March 26

sent a letter to Morgan J. O'Brien, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Committee for Relief of Ireland, saying:

I wish you the fullest measure of success. The people of America will never be deaf to the call for relief in behalf of suffering humanity, and the knowledge of distress in Ireland makes quick and deep appeal to the more fortunate of our own land, where so many of our citizens trace kinship to the Emerald Isle.

On March 30 the British Embassy in Washington issued a communication relative to the raising of funds in America for Irish relief. The communication read:

Widespread misapprehension appears to exist in regard to the necessity of raising funds from American sources for relief work in Ireland.

Banking and trade statistics and tax returns show that Ireland as a whole has never been more prosperous than at the present time. Cases of unemployment exist as a result of the world-wide depression in trade, but this depression has been less

severely felt in Ireland than in England owing to the fact that Ireland is largely an agricultural country.

Apart from these cases of genuine unemployment, common to all countries at the present moment, and apart from the unhappy but normal poverty of the slums of towns, every case of distress and destitution is directly due to the effects of the Sinn Fein rebellion. Steps have been taken to meet even these cases. Millions of pounds have been made available from money raised by taxation in the United Kingdom to build houses, to encourage land settlements and to promote employment schemes and the general work of reconstruction, but the counties and cities of Ireland which are Sinn Fein in sympathy refuse to accept this money and prefer to appeal to America for charity. Were it not for this attitude, there is no case of distress affecting any individual or his property which could not be adequately met from British sources.

Public criticism of this communication was made by Frank P. Walsh, counsel for the Irish Republicans, who held that the increase in Irish bank deposits was due to withdrawal of funds from British banks.

CANADA AND OTHER DOMINIONS

Canadian Government to take over the Grand Trunk Railway, whose failure to meet bonded obligations creates anxiety—Tea and olives cultivated with success on Vancouver Island—Difficulties of the Hughes Government in Australia—African adjustments

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 18, 1921]

INTEREST in the last few weeks has centered upon the prohibition referendum in Ontario, where provincial prohibition was upheld by very large majorities in 1919. At that time a provincial political general election was also decided, and the vote was heavy. In the present instance the vote was to decide whether provincial prohibition should be extended by Federal enactment to prevent the importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. The ballot paper carried the questions:

Shall the importation and the bringing of intoxicating liquors into the province be forbidden? NO.

Shall the importation and the bringing of intoxicating liquors into the province be forbidden? YES.

The campaign, which ended on April 18, assumed great bitterness in its closing

phases. "Pussyfoot" Johnson, who made a tour under the auspices of the Dominion Alliance, a strong prohibition organization, was denied a hearing in Kingston, where the crowds howled him down. In Toronto he had many interruptions, but made his speech. Outside the hall the police had finally to engage in a pitched battle with boisterous antis, and several arrests were made. The "Wets" brought Hon. C. A. Windle from Chicago to address a number of gatherings. He was accorded a good hearing everywhere.

The Province voted for "bone dry prohibition" April 18 by a majority exceeding 125,000, in a total vote exceeding 1,000,000.

An acute stage has been reached in the railway situation, precipitated by the failure of the Grand Trunk Railway to meet interest due April 1 on part of its bonded

indebtedness. As the Government is to take over the Grand Trunk, there is now a keen desire to bring the negotiations to a head by closing up the arbitration proceedings, and reaching a definite settlement on terms. There is growing anxiety as to the situation. There have been several discussions in the Commons on the matter, and on April 5 Premier Meighen announced that a committee of the House would be appointed with somewhat wide powers of investigation and inquiry into the national railways and shipping.

On April 7 it was announced that Sir Thomas White, member of Parliament for Leeds County and former Minister of Finance, had resigned his seat. He has desired to do so for some time. He is a member of the Arbitration Board on the Grand Trunk Railway acquisition, and there has been some criticism of his so acting with remuneration while remaining a member of the House. It was decided that he had the legal right to do so if he wished.

Official reports show that Canada's Government-owned mercantile fleet had a surplus of \$781,460 on operations last year after due allowance for depreciation. The amount of net earnings is equivalent to 2.35 per cent. interest on the investment, according to Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Canada's revenue for the fiscal year ending March 31 was \$451,366,029, and the ordinary expenditures totaled \$357,515,278. The net debt now stands at \$2,311,294,443.

Dr. Tolmie, Canadian Minister of Agriculture, speaking on April 7 in Ottawa, stated that for the first time tea and olives were being grown in Canada. Vancouver Island is the scene of the experiments, which have now been crowned with success, and the prospects are for great development. On the same island there will be a good fig crop this year; the bamboo crop is large enough to harvest for baskets and fishing poles, and filbert and almond trees are thriving.

AUSTRALIA—The Australian Commonwealth Parliament, in which Premier Hughes had a majority of only three votes when it met early last year, now threatens his downfall. The Nationalist Party, under Mr. Hughes, had 39 seats in the House, while the opposition had 36, consisting of 26 Labor votes and 10 of the Country Party,

which was anti-Labor. Now Mr. Fleming, a Nationalist, has left them and joined the Country Party, and there is one vacancy, leaving the vote 35 to 35; so that the Hughes government is dependent on the Speaker's vote for its majority. As a matter of fact, the Premier has the support of some of the Country Party members who are in sympathy with the Nationalists, but not enough in sympathy to join them to save the Government in a critical division.

Premier Hughes gave his views of the League of Nations at Sydney on March 23, saying:

It consists of forty-two nations recruited from all countries and of all colors, and there is not one of them outside the British Empire with any conception of the ideals of Australia. I have not found one of them our friend.

On April 7, at Melbourne, he declared, with respect to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty that Australia could not make an enemy of America to obtain the friendship of Japan, and that the treaty must be renewed in a modified form satisfactory to America. He declared the real hope for the peace of the world lay in some understanding between America, Great Britain and France.

The New South Wales Political and Labor Conference, held in March, adopted a resolution in sympathy with Ireland, and cabled to Premier Storey, then in London, to urge the withdrawal of the troops from Ireland. The Victoria Conference also adopted a resolution of sympathy.

The shipping policy of the Government is seriously criticised in Australia. The hull of the cruiser Adelaide on March 15 was towed from Cockatoo to Garden Island, drawing all Sydney's attention to the fact that it is still unfinished, although it has already cost over a million pounds. There is a real crisis in the merchant shipping industry. During the first three years' operations the commonwealth made a net profit of £900,000. The 1918-19 profit was over a million; that of 1919-20 fell off very considerably and this year a heavy loss is expected. Despite the fact that the world is oversupplied with shipping, the Government yards are still building.

It was announced on March 21 that the board controlling wheat export prices had reduced the rate from 9 shillings to 7 shillings 11 pence to meet North American com-

petition. Tasmania has decided to forbid for a year the killing of kangaroos, wallabies and opossums, owing to excessive slaughter last season for fur.

Lieutenant McIntosh, who last year flew from England to Australia, was killed in an air accident at Pilbara on March 28.

EGYPT—In preparation for negotiations to carry out a scheme of independence for Egypt, a new coalition Cabinet was formed at Cairo on March 15, with Adly Yeghen Pasha as Premier, to conclude an agreement with Great Britain. He will seek the collaboration of the Nationalist Egyptian delegation headed by Zaglul Pasha. Born in 1865, Adly Yeghen, who is a relative of the Sultan of Egypt, entered the Foreign Office at the age of 20, and in 1902 became Governor of Cairo. In 1913 he was appointed Vice President of the Legislative Assembly, and the next year took office as Minister of Foreign Affairs under Rushdy Pasha. After the resignation of his chief in 1919 he did much to direct the Nationalist movement toward a friendly settlement with Great Britain. On taking the office of Premier he at once received the support of the lawyers, the ulema and the students of El Azhar University. The armed police cyclists, who have attended the Ministers since September, 1919, were dispensed with, and there was every sign of popular approval.

Zaglul Pasha arrived from France on April 4, and had an enthusiastic reception at Alexandria. He made a triumphal entry into Cairo the next day. All the streets were draped in red, the Egyptian color. Then conferences were begun, at which differences were apparent between Zaglul and Adbi. The former intimated that the Presidency of the official delegation, which is to go to London to conduct the negotiations, should be reserved for him, and that acceptance of all his reservations by Great Britain should precede negotiations. It became apparent that the Zaglulists were preparing to compel Adly to allow Zaglul to formulate the delegation's policy.

The question of abolishing the consular courts was another matter of difference, Zaglul wishing them retained. Italy inquired what were the Cabinet's views on the abolition of the capitulations, and was informed that no decision would be made until negotiations for the abolition of the

protectorate proceeded. The Americans referred the suggested amendments to Washington. The mixed courts will stop functioning in May, but are likely to be prolonged. [See "The Needs of Egypt," Page 269.]

SOUTH AFRICA—General Smuts's new Cabinet was announced at Cape Town on March 9 as follows: General Smuts, Prime Minister in charge of native affairs; Sir Thomas Smartt, Agriculture; Mr. Jagger, Railways; Patrick Duncan, Interior, Public Health and Education; Colonel Denys Reitz, Minister of Lands; Sir Thomas Watt, Public Works, Telegraphs and Post; F. S. Malan, Mines and Industries; Colonel H. Mentz, Defense; Henry Burton, Finance, and N. J. De Wet, Justice. Thus the Dutch and English-speaking elements each have five representatives. It was reported that Sir Thomas Smartt would accompany General Smuts to the Dominion conference in London.

Parliament was opened on March 11 by Prince Arthur of Connaught, who referred first of all to the League of Nations at Geneva, the usefulness of which was growing, he said, owing to the disordered conditions throughout the world. The Government, he declared, would concentrate its attention on the financial and economic situation and proposals dealing with unemployment.

Uneasiness regarding the labor situation in South Africa was not diminished when the Cape Federation of Labor Unions at Cape Town voted to affiliate with the Moscow Third International. Depressed state of trade and the prospect of a big deficit in the Government revenue were given as the cause of labor discontent. Wages, it was felt, would have to come down, and it was thought unlikely that labor would submit without a struggle.

MANDATES—The League of Nations on March 22 issued the text of the mandates for the administration of German Samoa by New Zealand, of Nauru or Pleasant Island by Great Britain, of the other former German possessions in the Pacific south of the equator by Australia, and of German Southwest Africa by the Union of South Africa. On the same day the British Government assumed administration of certain districts of German East Africa, between Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza, captured by

the Belgians in the war and administered by them, while the Belgians retained certain districts northeast of Tanganyika. The British districts are incorporated in Tanganyika Territory.

The French have adopted a scheme of administration for the Cameroons and Togoland. The former will have full financial and administrative autonomy distinct from French Equatorial Africa, and its resources

will be devoted to its own development. Commercial equality is assured.

Captain Aneiras, a Frenchman, is the first white man to cross the 2,000 miles of the western Sahara desert, between Algiers and Dakar, according to reports received on April 12 from the French Ministry of War.

An exposition of agricultural, mineral and industrial products was planned to be held in Algiers from April 16 to May 8.

MEXICO'S PROGRESS TOWARD STABILITY

Recognition still withheld by Washington—Obregon nips revolutions in the bud—Annuling vast Diaz concessions to release land for the people—Tour of Mexican "Goodwill Commission"

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

THE deadlock between the United States and Mexico continues so far as recognition is concerned. Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, retired, has been suggested to President Harding for appointment as Ambassador to Mexico should the Government decide to recognize President Obregon. Correspondence has been passing between the two Presidents, Obregon admitted on March 18, but it is considered private.

General Obregon also wrote a letter to President Millerand of France, which the latter acknowledged, causing a report that France had recognized the Mexican Administration. This was denied in Paris, where it was said that no step toward formal recognition was in progress.

Another statement, evidently intended to cause trouble, was published in the Universal of Mexico City on April 6, to the effect that Mexico had appointed Salvador Escudero Minister to Soviet Russia. This was officially denied the next day "despite claims of newspapers sympathetic to the Russian cause."

President Obregon returned to Mexico City on March 28, after an eight-day trip through the States of Mexico, Michoacan, Morelos and Guerrero. At the Balsas River he inspected the site of a proposed dam in

a gorge where it is intended to establish power stations. He stopped at Cuernavaca, where he conferred with military leaders. During a visit to the Borda Gardens the leaders discussed the agrarian problem, which is principally one of absentee landlordism. Twenty-seven men own practically the entire State of Morelos, with an area of 2,773 square miles, against 160,000 natives without a foot of land.

A big revolutionary plot was revealed in Mexico City on April 7, in documents received from Spain where they came into possession of the Mexican Legation in Madrid. They call for the sale of Mexican properties by former Carranza generals in order to provide funds for the intended rebellion. President Obregon meanwhile is meting out stern punishment to all persons found guilty of conspiracy. Five followers of the Cardenas brothers' "ten-man revolution" were captured by Rurales on April 2 and executed the next morning. General Rafael Cardenas escaped, but his brother, Augustino, had been captured and executed a week earlier. Julio Fernandez Perez, a general of brigade in the State of Chiapas, met the same fate at Tuxla Gutierrez on April 6. Undeterred by these examples, General Pablo Gonzales, in Laredo, Texas,

on April 9, told The Associated Press that he expected to head another movement against Obregon.

There was a gathering of extreme Socialists in Pachuca, in March, which adopted the principles of the Third International, or Moscow Bolshevik Congress, and set May 1 as the date for beginning a social revolution in Mexico, at the same time voting sympathy with the railway strikers. The Mexican Bolsheviks have their headquarters in Mexico City on the Calle Colon, back of the Regis Hotel, where radicals from Russia, Germany, France, Italy, England, Spain and the United States meet their Mexican comrades.

The railway strike was settled on March 16, after a conference between General Calles and the workers who still remained out. The Government won by its firmness, the men returning to work unconditionally on March 19. The railroads, which had been taken over by the Government on Dec. 4, 1914, are about to be restored to the company, according to the report of J. Pedrero Cordova, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Railways of Mexico.

There has been an increase of idle labor in Mexico and at the same time an influx of laborers from the United States, especially to the oil regions, which led President Obregon on March 15 to issue a decree barring all foreign laborers from the country. Exception was provided in the decree for those who could show that they had "sufficient sustenance and implements" for colonization or agriculture.

President Obregon has released 3,700,000 acres of land to the people by annulling the enormous concession in the State of Chihuahua granted to Luis Terrazas by the Diaz régime. The reason given was Terrazas's failure to fulfill the terms of the contract, which stipulated the establishment within ten years of numerous villages with improvements and the division of the land into small tracts for the benefits of the peons. German immigration to Mexico is no longer feared, only about 600 having entered since the war. The first attempt at colonization was a conspicuous failure. A company was formed of several hundred members, who bought German goods estimated to bring \$800,000 in Mexico and sent them there in charge of two men, who sold

the goods, pocketed the money and disappeared. Meanwhile, very many of the colonists had embarked and are now dependent upon the charity of the permanent German residents.

A conference of oil company executives was held in Galveston on March 16, at which it was stated that, so long as Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution held out a threat of confiscation, American oil interests would oppose recognition. Regarding the opposition in the United States, President Obregon said on March 30:

I am sure that the campaign is backed by certain interests who think they have found in the present Government an obstacle to their ambition for enrichment without outlay. They have charged that members of the Government are immoral and willing to accept bribes. If this were true, the oil companies would not spend so much money attacking these members, but would through bribery both save money and attain their ends.

Regarding the report that Mexican oil wells were on the point of exhaustion and being invaded by salt water, E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, in his annual report explains this, declaring the so-called salt water invasion no menace to the property in general. He says:

Each separate and individual pool of oil is cut off from all other pools of similar character by the uplifted walls of basaltic rock. Each has a separate basin. Therefore one of these pools may be exhausted and its neighbor be in no way affected. When these pools give up all their oil content they leave behind the body of water upon which the oil was superimposed.

Arrangements are being made by the Mexican Government to establish a new national banking system with a capital of 17,500,000 pesos gold. Secretary de la Huerta says the Treasury has 15,000,000 pesos on hand toward this amount and the rest will be supplied soon. The National Bank of Mexico, which had been suspended for several years, resumed business in March, together with fourteen other banks in different parts of the country. A commission is about to be sent abroad to cancel certain contracts for arms and munitions which have not been filled and make arrangements for the return of deposits made during former administrations.

A "good-will commission," which left Mexico City on Feb. 28, has been touring

the United States for the purpose of interesting business men in the development of Mexico, and has been extending invitations to attend the Trade Conference. On arrival of the visitors in New York on March 28, the Merchants' Association, who had made arrangements to entertain them, were surprised by the receipt of letters from the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico and the American Association of Mexico, describing the good-will commission as an instrument for political propaganda and warning against acceptance of the invitation to the Trade Conference. The American Association, in its note, declared that nothing could be further from its wishes than to dissuade the Merchant's Association from cordial treatment of its guests, but trade with any foreign Government was best promoted by Americans resident there; under the Carranza Constitution the rights of Americans were restricted; trade excursions served as a form of propaganda; spreading favorable reports about Mexico served to embarrass the Washington Government in its designs, and the Mexican Government was interested in the work of the visitors. When this peculiar method of refraining from dissuasion was shown to Fernando Leal Novelo, head of the Mexican guests, he said: "We have simply come to the United States as business men to try to interest your commercial leaders in the development of commerce with our country."

A committee of the Merchants' Association met the good-will commission and took its members to West Point, where they inspected the Military Academy. General Douglas McArthur, the Commandant, received the visitors cordially, and through them extended an invitation to the Commandant of the Chapultepec Military Academy and his staff to visit West Point. If such a visit could be officially arranged, he said, it would be a great step toward cementing the proper friendly relations between the two republics. After saying that most South and Central American countries had students at West Point, General McArthur added: "I think from my acquaintance with General Obregon, which covered a considerable period at the time both of us were in El Paso, that he will appreciate the opportunity this offers to the youth of

Mexico, and I trust he will send some of his nationals here."

After being entertained at luncheon by the Merchants' Association the next day, the good-will commission continued its tour and finally reached Washington on April 9, to pay its respects to President Harding, who received the members cordially and expressed the hope that trade relations might continue to develop.

The two associations who issued the warning notes also sent representatives to Washington who presented to Secretary Hughes a memorandum personally attacking several members of President Obregon's Cabinet and protesting against recognition unless a written guarantee were given that Article 27 of the Constitution were not made confiscatory. The Petroleum Committee of the Mexican chamber on April 11 agreed upon a bill regulating the application of Article 27 so that it shall not be retroactive and agreeing that all oil rights acquired prior to Feb. 5, 1917, will be respected. On April 12, Washington learned from Mr. Summerlin, American Chargé d'Affaires, that Obregon had given assurances that no foreign property would be disturbed in the proposed expropriation of Mexican land for the benefit of peasants.

Several notes were sent by the State Department in March, asking guarantees for the lives and property of foreigners in Mexico, on account of recent murders and deaths of Americans at the hands of Mexicans. An absconding clerk in the Texas Treasury Department was arrested at Nuevo Laredo on March 20 and returned to the United States, being the first fugitive delivered to American officers in five years.

Linn Gale, an American draft evader, was deported from Mexico on April 5. He had escaped from draft officials at Albany, N. Y., and made his way across the border in 1918. There he established a Bolshevik and pro-German periodical called Gale's Magazine, which soon became the organ of the radical elements in Mexico. It was first stated that he would be delivered to United States authorities, and he was sent to Vera Cruz; but on begging the Mexicans not to send him to the United States he was sent by train to Guatemala, which state was said later to be about to deport him to Salvador or Honduras.

PANAMA REJECTS THE WHITE AWARD

Refuses to accept Secretary Hughes's suggestion of a basis for settlement of the Costa Rican dispute — The month's events in Central America

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

PANAMA and Costa Rica having agreed to accept the mediation of the United States to settle their differences, as related in CURRENT HISTORY for April, and both sides having withdrawn their military forces from the disputed districts, the incident was thought to be closed. But on April 7 the Panama National Assembly reopened the whole question by unanimously approving a reply to a note of Secretary Hughes in which Panama was urged to accept the award of President Loubet of France, rendered on Sept. 11, 1900. This award granted to Costa Rica the territory between the Burica Point Ridge, the Golfits River and the Pacific Coast, forming a triangle extending inland about fifty miles, with a base of thirty miles on the ocean. It had been occupied by Panama and previously by Colombia, and occupation was continued on the ground that Chief Justice White, who further defined President Loubet's decision in 1914, had gone beyond the territory in dispute.

Secretary Hughes's note, sent to Panama on March 15, declared that the United States "considers it an unavoidable duty to request the Government of Panama at once to take steps to confirm the boundary line from Punta Burica to a point in the Central Cordillera, north of Cerro Pando, by relinquishing its jurisdiction over the territory on the Costa Rican side of that line and transferring it to Costa Rica."

With respect to the Atlantic side of the boundary Chief Justice White's award gave to Costa Rica a portion of the territory claimed by Panama, and to Panama a portion of the territory claimed by Costa Rica. The line begins at the mouth of the Sixaola River, goes west to Mount Chirripo and Mount Pando, and thence southwest to nine degrees north latitude, where it turns south to meet the Burica Point line. This award has never been accepted by Panama, although by an agreement of March 17, 1910, known as the Porras-Anderson treaty, both republics pledged themselves in advance to

abide by the award "whatever it be." Secretary Hughes urged that Panama and Costa Rica name a commission of engineers to mark out the boundary.

President Porras, on March 18, made a personal appeal to President Harding against Secretary Hughes's urgent request; President Harding replied the next day, fully sustaining the Secretary of State. President Porras, on March 25, called a special session of Congress, which met on March 28, to consider a reply to the demand of the United States. In his message to the National Assembly the President gave warning that a refusal to comply would result in the withdrawal of the friendly offices of the United States, and that warfare with Costa Rica would be resumed. He declared that Costa Rica would receive aid from other Central American republics, while Panama would be without means of defense.

The reply unanimously approved by the Panama Assembly was an absolute defiance of the United States Government's demand, reiterating the refusal to accept the White award as a basis for the settlement of the boundary question, and declaring that it was prepared to accept whatever consequences might follow the national determination to preserve territorial integrity. The President was authorized to spend \$50,000 to retain the services of three Panamanians and three foreign experts to support the Government in contesting the White award. A new internal loan of \$1,000,000 was proposed, to be guaranteed by the proceeds of the national lottery, to repel a possible invasion by Costa Rica, and arms and ammunition purchased abroad began to arrive.

Costa Rica was naturally delighted with Secretary Hughes's note, and a resolution expressing gratitude to the United States "for its just, prompt and efficacious mediation" was sent to Vice President Coolidge for transmission to the State Department. Meanwhile, Costa Rican interests in Pan-

ama were placed in the hands of the Spanish Minister. All Latin America is reported to be pleased with the Hughes note, as it removed the fear that the United States would be partial to Panama, owing to her close relations with the Washington Government.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE—Colonel J. J. Morrow, on March 26, was appointed Governor General of the Panama Canal Zone, in which capacity he had been acting for some time. It was announced on April 1 that a bill to restore free toll privileges through the Panama Canal to American vessels would be introduced in the Senate at the present session of Congress. The New York Board of Trade and Transportation has been urging Congress to grant free tolls for those American vessels engaged in the coast-to-coast trade. Traffic through the canal during 1920 reached the high record of 2,814 commercial ships, as compared with 2,134 in 1919, an increase of 31 per cent. Net tonnage aggregated 10,378,265, compared with 6,919,149, a gain of nearly 50 per cent. Tolls levied were \$10,295,392, against \$6,992,218. Distribution of traffic was in the following order: (1) From the west coast of South America to the east coast of the United States; (2) from the Atlantic Coast of the United States to the Far East; (3) from South America to Europe; (4) from the east coast of the United States to the west coast of South America; (5) from the west coast of the United States to Europe, and (6) from the Gulf coast of Mexico to South America, the latter principally fuel oil.

COSTA RICA—Appearance of the British cruiser Cambrian in Costa Rican waters in support of the validity of the Amory oil concession has caused speculation as to whether Great Britain would attempt to use coercion. A note was presented to Costa Rica on Dec. 30 declaring that the British Government was interested in the concession granted by the Tinoco Government to the Lord Cowdray oil interests, which includes some 700 square miles of land. The United States refused to recognize the Tinoco Government, as it had been instituted by force. Washington has always taken the position that concessions granted by an unrecognized Government in Latin-American countries are illegal. On March 17 it was announced that the Costa Rican

Congress, by a vote of 24 to 14, had sustained the action of the Costa Rican President in refusing to recognize the validity of the Amory concession. For many years Great Britain has never attempted to use force to compel Latin-American countries to carry out obligations to British subjects without first informing the United States; but there was no advance notice given of the visit of the British cruiser to Costa Rica, and as a result reports have been current in Washington that British interests have considered the possibility of negotiating for rights to construct an Isthmian canal to compete with that at Panama on account of Britain's large interests in the Far East.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION—Dr. Julio Bianchi, Guatemalan Minister to the United States, on April 8, announced the birth of a new American nation on receipt of advices that Guatemala had ratified the treaty of San Jose, which creates the "Federation of Central America." Costa Rica had signed the treaty but had not then ratified it. [For text of treaty see *CURRENT HISTORY* for April, pages 153-157.] The three necessary ratifications had been voted by Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador. These three States have a population of 4,100,000, an area of 101,164 square miles and a foreign trade of \$45,800,000 annually with the United States. [See article on page 294.]

An agreement relative to currency reform in Central America is under discussion between the United States, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and a treaty is before the United States Senate providing for the establishment of gold clearance funds with Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Haiti.

GUATEMALA—For the purpose of encouraging Guatemalan trade a decree has been promulgated removing the export duty on sugar, the country's second most important article of exportation, about \$3,000,000 worth having been shipped to the United States last year. The duty, formerly 2 cents a pound, was reduced to 1 cent about six months previously, and internal taxes in the twenty-two departments have been greatly reduced and made uniform. Guatemala is preparing to abolish or decrease duties to a large extent on all articles of export, the loss in revenue to be recovered by an income tax.

Guatemala is also inviting proposals for a concession to establish a bank with a capital of 10,000,000 gold pesos and the privilege of issuing three times that amount in currency, the notes to be redeemable at sight in national money or American gold dollars. The institution would be required to lend the Government 3,000,000 pesos.

HONDURAS—There were rumors in March of a revolution impending in Atlantida province and the city of Ceiba, Honduras, as an outcome of a strike of laborers on the banana plantations for a wage increase from \$1.25 a day to \$2.50. An increase to \$1.75 was granted, but the workers in the banana and sugar plantations say that this is not enough. All food supplies are imported by the United Fruit Company and other big business concerns, and are sold at a good profit; only 50 cents a hundred pounds is paid at the ship for bananas, which are sold for \$5.50 in New Orleans. The Honduran Government restored order after the arrival of the United States warship *Sacramento* to look after American interests, but Colonel Ramon Lagos, Governor of Atlantida, was dismissed and Colonel Manuel Matute appointed in his place.

The foreign trade of Honduras for the fiscal year ended July 31, 1920, broke all records, imports amounting to \$12,860,762, nearly double those of any previous year, and exports reaching \$6,944,000 against, a previous high mark of \$5,997,741 in 1919. Over 95 per cent. of the exports from Honduras are shipped to the United States.

Honduras has signed a contract with W. G. Stott, a United States army officer, to organize a national police force.

NICARAGUA—A dispatch from Managua, dated April 8, said that a commission

of American engineers was expected from the United States to study plans for an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua. This route formerly was considered more practicable than that of Panama, as there was no elevation as high as Culebra to be cut, and Lake Nicaragua afforded a water transit for about one-third of the distance. Though the project was dropped in President Roosevelt's time, it is now being revived because the traffic by way of Panama is increasing so rapidly that the canal in a few years will be unable to handle it. The Bryan-Chamorro treaty of 1916 gives the United States the exclusive right to construct a canal through Nicaragua, and to establish a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, on the Pacific Coast. For these privileges the United States paid \$3,000,000. Salvador and Honduras protested against this treaty as ignoring their rights in the Gulf of Fonseca, and this is the chief reason why Nicaragua refuses to join the Central American Union, fearing the merger would invalidate the treaty.

United States marines arrived at Managua on April 3, to replace those who were punished for wrecking the plant of the Tribuna.

Nicaragua has asked the Knights of Columbus to establish councils within its borders "for the benefit of the youth of Nicaragua and the general welfare," but the Supreme Secretary said it was improbable that the organization would be extended beyond the United States, its possessions, Canada and Newfoundland.

Corinto has been made a regular port of call for Pacific mail steamers, making a direct service of fifteen days to Baltimore and New York, avoiding transshipment at Cristobal, which formerly resulted in loss of time often amounting to a month.



SOUTH AMERICAN PROSPERITY

Industrial expansion under improving business conditions—Growing navies of four republics—A large Krupp concession in Chile—Brazil's diamond mines—A Pan-American research laboratory as a memorial to General Gorgas

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

BUSINESS conditions in South America have been gradually improving during the first quarter of the year; collections are easier, and plans are afoot for the improvement of railroad, river and road transportation. Brazil and Chile are about to issue new loans for the extension of railways, and an Argentine company with a capital of 50,000,000 pesos is about to establish a shipbuilding yard. The arrival at Valparaiso of Chile's first dreadnought—the 28,000-ton La Torre, formerly the Canada of the British Navy—and three destroyers, has revived comparisons of South American sea power. That of Argentina is 140,000 tons, of Brazil 120,000, of Chile 85,000 and of Peru 10,000.

ARGENTINA—The Socialist Party of Argentina split in March over the adoption of a resolution rejecting adherence to the Third International of Moscow. A large number of the extremists were expelled. A band of university students at Rosario captured the City Hall and attempted to take over the local government, but was suppressed by the police, and the disturbers were imprisoned.

The steamer Martha Washington having been tied up by a boycott of the union port workers of Buenos Aires, the American Ambassador, on April 13, made a demand on the Argentine Government to lift the boycott and provide means for unloading the vessel. Ambassador Stimson took this step, considering the Government responsible, because port labor in Buenos Aires had been fiscalized; that is, taken over by the Government to prevent strikes. The matter was referred to President Irigoyen. If the Government refused to interfere, it was said, Buenos Aires might be dropped as a port of call for American vessels.

Four hundred German immigrants arrived in Argentina at the end of March on board the first passenger vessel flying the German flag which had reached Buenos Aires since the beginning of the war. Most of

them were middle-class people, including eighty army officers, but few had any capital; they were expecting to obtain employment at once.

American goods to the value of \$40,000,000 were said to be piled up in the Buenos Aires Custom House, having been rejected by Argentine buyers through inability to accept delivery. Credit, however, is now improving, owing to record crops. President Irigoyen on March 18 issued a decree that no export duties, additional to those assessed monthly, should be imposed on exported cereals. As stated in a dispatch from Brussels on April 7, the Argentine National Bank has been authorized to finance large shipments of wool to Antwerp, allowing two years' credit. The cotton industry in Northern Argentina has quadrupled in three years. It was announced on April 12 that the first big gusher among oil wells in the Government field at Comodoro Rivadavia had just been brought in, with an estimated production of 25,000 barrels a day.

President Irigoyen is leading advocate of a plan for the nations of North and South America to erect a memorial in the Panama Canal Zone to the late General William C. Gorgas for his success in conquering tropical diseases. The memorial will be in the shape of a laboratory open to physicians of the world who wish to undertake research work in connection with tropical pestilences. Dr. Franklin H. Martin of Chicago is a member of the preliminary committee appointed by President Porras of Panama to gain aid for the memorial.

BRAZIL—The contract for the use of twenty-seven former German steamships borrowed by France from Brazil during the war expired on March 31, and the French Government is preparing to return them. Whether Brazil will retain or sell them has not been decided. It was stated in Rio Janeiro that interests in the United States had offered to purchase them.

Stern measures have been taken to curb

the activities of foreign anarchists in Brazil, owing to several bomb explosions in Rio Janeiro. President Pessoa has signed a decree providing heavy penalties for the propagation of subversive doctrines.

Brazil is endeavoring to improve foreign exchange by raising the price of coffee, having purchased more than 300,000 sacks in the first half of April.

C. A. Legesen, a South African diamond expert, who arrived in New York recently from Brazil, declares that the diamond mines of Minas Geraes are larger than all those of South Africa together, and believes there are in sight at least \$120,000,000 worth of the precious stones. The output is now about 15,000 karats a year. The diamonds are pure white, not yellow, as popularly supposed.

CHILE—The Chilean Cabinet resigned on April 12 as a result of rejection by the Senate of the Government's proposal to appoint Luis Aldunate, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Chilean Minister to France. President Alessandri refused to accept the resignations. Antonio Huneus and Manuel Rivas also resigned as delegates to the League of Nations, because Augustin Edwards, Minister to Great Britain, had been named Chairman of the Chilean delegation to the Assembly. The Government cabled a refusal to accept their resignations. At the same time the President has called by cable for the resignation of all diplomats who belonged to the opposition party, which includes Chilean representatives to Austria, Spain, the Vatican, Holland, Portugal, Brazil, Mexico and Cuba.

German farmers have been negotiating for the purchase of 50,000 tons of Chilean nitrate. The Krupps, on April 8, obtained a thirty-year concession from Chile for the construction of the largest steel and munitions plant in South America, and are to receive nearly 100,000 acres of rich timber lands.

Mlle. Adrienne Bolland, who held the French woman's aviation altitude record, flew across the Andes on April 1 from Mendoza to Santiago, Chile, in six hours and a half.

COLOMBIA—Senator Lodge, on April 12, began the debate in the United States Senate on the Colombian treaty, which provides for the payment of \$25,000,000 compensation for President Roosevelt's action

when he "took" Panama. Senator Lodge declared that if he thought anything in the treaty reflected on Colonel Roosevelt in regard to the Panama Canal nothing would induce him to support it. Besides that, very large oil fields were on the point of development in Colombia, which it would be advantageous to have in American hands. Expression of the American Government's regret for having separated Panama from Colombia, in order to build the Panama Canal, had been eliminated, so there was nothing now to prevent ratification of the treaty as compensation for the loss of Panama. President Harding has expressed himself in favor of the treaty, entirely putting aside old and unhappy controversies.

PARAGUAY—A decree of Jan. 13 gave temporary permission to vessels under foreign flags to engage in trade on the Upper Parana River, and the Argentine Navigation Company, in consequence of a strike, placed their steamers under the Paraguayan flag, the Asuncion Government agreeing to operate them with "officialized" crews. In March the company reached a settlement with the river boatmen's union, promising to restore union crews to the vessels. The "officialized" crews protested, as this meant loss of their jobs. The nonunion men running the steamer Huttaita, on April 6, stole off with the vessel and headed north toward the Brazilian frontier. A Paraguayan gunboat was sent in pursuit and the Huttaita was sunk near Concepcion. This, it is believed, forestalled a plot of the crews to resist the Paraguayan Government's intention to restore the steamboats to the Argentine Company.

PERU—The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company has obtained a contract to operate the postal, telegraph and wireless systems for twenty-five years, beginning May 1, receiving 5 per cent. of the gross receipts and 50 per cent. of the annual profits. The Marconi Company will have exclusive use of all international wireless stations in Peru and practically all telephone services.

URUGUAY—Laws enacted by the Uruguayan Congress, President Brum declares, have made labor contented. One pending in March provides a minimum wage of \$20 a month, with board and lodging, and of \$45 in the city. Another law gives an obligatory day of rest each week and includes domestic servants.

The first fatal duel since the adoption of the law legalizing dueling occurred in Montevideo on March 21, when Captains Melo and Gomeza of the Uruguayan Army fought with pistols and the former was shot through the heart.

VENEZUELA—Dr. Esteban Gil-Borges, Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in New York with a number of other distinguished Venezuelans to represent their country at the unveiling of the bronze eque-

trian statue of General Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, in Central Park, New York, on April 19. It was understood that President Harding and Secretary Hughes would speak on the occasion. On the same day official ceremonies were to be conducted in Caracas, where two parks were to be christened Washington and Clay. The statue was presented to the City of New York by the Venezuelan Government and was the work of S. J. Farnham of New York.

POLITICAL TENSION IN CUBA

A Congressional strike of the Liberals prevents the proclamation of Dr. Zayas as President—New York and Havana can now talk by telephone—Affairs elsewhere in the West Indies

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

CUBA'S Presidential troubles have taken a new and curious turn. Though the supplementary elections of March 15 confirmed Dr. Zayas as the republic's choice for President, the Liberal members of Congress undertook to render the proclamation of his election impossible by going on strike and absenting themselves from Congress. At this writing the Cuban public is puzzled over the problem of whether Dr. Zayas can constitutionally take office on the legal date, May 20, in the face of this new complication.

The Liberals generally stayed away from the polls, and Dr. Zayas received about 33 per cent. of the vote. There were no clashes, as General Crowder had taken every possible step to assure order. The Liberals and Democrats, however, had determined, if possible, to prevent Zayas from acceding to the Presidency. The House of Representatives passed out of existence at noon on April 4, and when the new Congress was called to order at 3 o'clock on that day, no quorum was present. Every member of the National League, which includes the old Conservative Party, was there, but there were present only three Liberals, who evidently came as observers for the Parliamentary Council of the Liberal Party, then in session.

Jose Miguel Gomez, the defeated Liberal

candidate for the Cuban Presidency, arrived in Washington on March 30, to appeal to the State Department for the establishment of a Provisional Government in the island, under an American chief executive if necessary, to supervise new elections. General Gomez has been the stormy petrel of Cuban politics. He protested against the second election of Estrada Palma and supported a revolutionary movement begun by Pino Guerra in 1906. He took the field in 1917, proclaiming that Menocal had been re-elected by fraud. He was captured in battle, but was soon released. As a result of the second American occupation, he was elected President and served four years, from 1909 to 1913. On April 5, Gomez called on President Harding and, on the same day, Dr. Rafael Angulo, Chairman of the committee of Liberals who had been sent to Washington, presented a formal appeal to the State Department to set up a Provisional Government.

The United States, through Minister Long, on April 17, formally recognized Dr. Zayas, candidate of the Coalition Party, as the duly elected President of the Cuban Republic. This decision determined General Gomez to give up the contest, and he so formally announced as soon as he learned of Minister Long's statement.

Fernando Quinones, National League

candidate for Governor of Havana Province, was shot dead on the famous Prado in the heart of Havana by Ernesto Collado, a Liberal member of Congress and party candidate for Governor of the same Province. Collado was indicted for homicide and held without bail pending action by Congress on a plea of immunity as member of the House of Representatives. Assassination talk has been rife in Cuba lately. In March Dr. Zayas's private secretary was found murdered, and a prominent political leader is said to have made a vow that Dr. Zayas will never serve as President of Cuba.

Direct telephone communication was opened between this country and Havana on April 11. President Harding and President Menocal exchanged oral expressions of good-will, as did also several of the Cabinet Ministers in the two capitals. Still more wonderful was the fact that Washington and Havana, as well as other cities across the United States, listened to a wireless telephone operator on Catalina Island, off the Pacific Coast, the distance to Havana, 5,700 miles, being a new record for transmission of the human voice by a circuit of radio, wire and cable. The Postal Telegraph Company on the same day completed the laying of a new submarine cable between Miami and Havana, giving it an alternative route to that from New York.

Great Britain is now levying a 50 per cent. ad valorem duty on cigars imported from Cuba, and cigars that cost 8 cents before the war now sell in London for 25 cents—a shilling. As a result only the well-to-do can afford to smoke them, and the British Government loses a revenue amounting to \$2,400,000 a year. Cubans in reprisal are demanding a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem on all British goods, and R. T. Nugent, director of the Federation of British Industries, is urging strongly a reciprocal agreement with Cuba. He points out that in the first quarter of 1920 British exports to Cuba were 150 per cent. heavier than in 1919, and that British cotton goods were getting a big hold in the island; all this will be lost if a tariff war ensues. Spain is following Britain's example, raising duties on Cuban cigars by the expedient of valuing them in gold instead of silver as heretofore. This amounts to an increase of more than 60 per cent. Cuban manu-

facturers have cabled a protest to Madrid. The Banco Nacional de Cuba suspended business on April 9, owing partly to failure to raise \$12,000,000 in the United States to tide the bank over April 15, when, under the moratorium law, it would have been compelled to pay another instalment of 20 per cent. to its depositors. The bank had vast amounts loaned to sugar planters who could not pay promptly, but is solvent, having over \$30,000,000 of mortgages, bonds and assets available as collateral.

SANTO DOMINGO—Ex-President Henriquez y Carvajal of Santo Domingo on April 12 presented a petition at the White House, begging that the United States restore to Dominicans the "rightful sovereignty of which they have been deprived since 1916, through the employment of the military forces of the United States without warrant of law.

An appreciable diminution in the volume of freight between New York and Santo Domingo has caused the three principal lines, which were operating at less than 60 per cent. of capacity, to reduce freight rates on a number of important articles. A reduction of postage to United States domestic rates also went into effect on April 1.

JAMAICA—The Legislative Council of Jamaica has remitted the export tax on cocoanuts and cocoa, fully \$1,000,000 worth of which are exported to the United States annually. Fruit companies trading with America are engaged in fierce competition. The banana price has risen and many cultivators are said to be selling immature fruit. Alastrim, a contagious disease similar to a mild form of smallpox, is raging. Marcus Garvey, a leader of American negroes, has arrived from New York and is addressing large and enthusiastic meetings in the interest of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, of which he is President. Fire, on April 1, destroyed the building and stock of the Jamaica branch of the American Tobacco Company; loss, \$1,000,000.

Hundreds of Jamaicans, who have been unable to obtain work on the sugar plantations in Cuba, are returning home and report that orders have been given to all industrial undertakings in Cuba to give preference to Cuban laborers in order to relieve unemployment.

NORWAY'S INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE

Capitalizing waterpower in order to dispense with coal and to sell electricity by wholesale to neighboring States—Shadow of German competition over Scandinavian markets—Events in Sweden and Denmark

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

BY harnessing many waterfalls Norway is making strides toward leadership as an industrial country. Though Norway has abundant iron ore, it is handicapped by lack of coal, and the nation's scientific ingenuity is grappling with the problem. Inventors in many lines are at work on it. Norsk Hydro, the great electro-chemical company of Norway, has lately acquired a patent on the invention of Professor B. F. Halvorsen and Mr. Foss, engineer, for making iron without the use of coal by a series of metallurgical reductions.

Unstable exchanges, political uncertainties and social unrest still tend to restrict trade and cripple industry in Norway; the financial stringency, too, and the enormously increased cost of production have aggravated the depression. Financial conditions have adversely affected the engineering and allied industries. Especially hampered were workshops on the west coast engaged in repair and motor work, and foundries dependent on the fishing industry, several of which have had to close down.

The hydroelectric power industry has become the most important of Norway, but has been retarded in new development schemes by the limitation of the capital available for investment. Of the 15,000,000 horse power units latent in the Norwegian water courses only 1,375,000 have been utilized, though practically every farmer has light, heat and power on his land. The Government has continued work upon its power projects of harnessing the waterfalls of Nore and its Hakavik installation. Other operations are in progress.

Of the 6,000,000 horse power latent in Sweden's water courses nearly all is in the north of that country. The Norwegian power is to be carried by air cable across Southern Sweden and by submarine cable

to Denmark. Both Danish and Norwegian capital has been secured in financing the project, and with the financial backing of Sweden it is highly probable that the plans will make noticeable headway in the near future. Ultimately, thinks a Norwegian expert, it will be practicable to lay a submarine power cable from Arendal, Norway, to Jutland, including all three Scandinavian countries in a circular line, with their international co-operation.

Norwegian trade and industry feel the menace of German competition. German exporters can undersell all competitors, even those of Norway, on account of the low exchange value of the German mark as compared with the currency of all other manufacturing countries. Yet, in spite of all the financial difficulties that handicap the country and of the comparative stagnation in Norwegian trade and industry for over a year, there is improvement in certain directions.

A special Norwegian commission set out for Washington early in April for the purpose of reaching a settlement of the claims for ships requisitioned by the United States in the war. The Shipping Board had allowed \$14,157,000 for the commandeered ships, but Norway was not satisfied with that amount, contending that allowance should be made for the speculative value of the contracts, due to the increased price of tonnage during the war.

SWEDEN—King Gustaf V., who occupies a villa a part of every year on the Côte d'Azur, France, arrived in Paris on the morning of March 19. Clusters of flags, Swedish and French, decorated the Gare de l'Est in his honor. Among the personages present were General Lasson, representing President Millerand, and the Swedish Legation, headed by the Swedish Minister,

Count Aehrensvaerd. King Gustaf was accompanied by Count Stedingk, his private chamberlain; M. Sandgren, Minister Plenipotentiary and private secretary; Dr. Olin, court physician and Captain Salander, aide-de-camp. The King responded to the address of welcome by the Government officials and later took up residence at the hotel of the Swedish Legation. President and Mme. Millerand gave a dinner in his honor, and for several days he was the centre of distinguished social functions.

The new Swedish Ministry was finally constituted under the presidency of M. de Sydow, Conservative. The only new member among the other Ministers was M. Beskow. The most striking personality in the Cabinet, in view of his connection with the Aland question, is Count Wrangel, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

About the only progress made toward trade with Soviet Russia by Sweden lies in her becoming a clearing house for Soviet gold. Tons of this metal, according to The Associated Press, were coming from Russia by way of Reval. In Stockholm the gold was melted, given the stamp of the Swedish Mint and thrown upon the markets of the world. The Soviets were hoping that American Consuls in Sweden would approve shipments of gold without tracing them further back than their Swedish origin.

According to reliable reports, the Bolshevik gold reserve totals only 175,000,000 gold rubles. The first shipment of this gold to America, seven tons, was reported to have gone forth on March 20 on board the Swedish steamer Carlsholm. About ninety tons more were left in Stockholm, having been restamped. Swedish bankers, who bought most of the gold, were making large profits. This gold traffic and the curtailment of credits caused a decline in American exchange. The American rate on gold exports amounted to 2,942 kroner per kilogram, the English rate being 2,562. Gold exports to England were very small.

DENMARK—Even more than Norway, Denmark is under the menace of German commercial competition. It is feared that

the charge of 50 per cent. exacted on all German goods imported into Great Britain will be prohibitive of the import of German goods into allied countries and will increase their unloading on Scandinavian markets. The Danish trading organ, *Borsen*, quotes statements concerning the efforts of Scandinavian and other neutral countries to secure protests from their respective Governments to the League of Nations against this policy, representing that it is contrary to the interests of the allied powers to allow neutral countries, important as markets and production centres, to face ruin through the unprecedented unloading of German goods.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs announced before the Danish Parliament on April 9 that agents of the Russian Soviet were about to make a proposition for trade relations with Danish organizations, to be followed by negotiations with the Ministry. The proposal had been approved by a committee of influential Danish merchants.

Twenty American students who have been appointed by the American-Scandinavian Foundation to traveling scholarships of \$1,000 each for study in the universities and technical schools of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, are about to embark for these countries. They begin their studies under the terms of the fellowship exchange, which provides also for twenty Scandinavian students at American universities. They will study the Scandinavian languages and literature, hydroelectrical engineering, chemistry, forestry, economics, metallurgy, medicine, physics, fisheries, agriculture, philosophy and church history.

ICELAND—As an evidence of increasing activity in the Icelandic air transport service, which kept up inland communications last Winter and has also aided the fishing fleets in locating shoals of fish, the transport company is now enlarging its fleet by the purchase of several American Curtiss flying boats. A regular air service will ply this Summer from Reykjavik, Iceland, to Copenhagen, by way of Leeds, England, a distance of 1,600 miles.

ITALY'S CRITICAL NEW ELECTION

A momentous verdict in the nation's life to be given on May 15—Bloody reprisals by the Communists and Fascisti

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

ON April 2 the Council of Ministers signed the following remarkable address to King Victor Emmanuel III.:

Sire:

From the fall of imperial Rome until today, when Italian unification is complete, in accordance with sacred national aspirations all new provinces annexed have been allowed to elect representatives.

The events which followed the elections of 1919 and the unrest manifest in certain provinces of the kingdom have served to hasten new elections rather than to retard them.

The will of the nation is the greatest force for the re-establishment of the authority of the law.

Foreign policy will develop in accordance with economic ideals, provided the scope of commercial influence be assured with replenishment of raw materials, new paths for emigration, new markets for our products.

We are confident that the new Chamber will modify Article V. of the Constitution concerning declarations of war and the conclusion of international treaties.

Furthermore, the deficit of 4,000,000,000 lire imposes heavy sacrifices on the people, particularly on the rich.

The ordinances and administration of justice should be reformed and made more active.

State examinations should be imposed in all departments, and a reform of the army and navy administrations, reconciling the necessity of national defense with the minimum expense.

Moreover, co-operative organizations should be perfected by which profits shall be so distributed among the workers as to annihilate the strike.

The representative agricultural industries should be organized; the great landed estates broken up; methods assuring social protection should be perfected.

The workers can doubtless aid in the development of the industries if they shall pass the period of vague revolutionary aspirations. Let us express the hope, therefore; that representatives may be sent to Parliament who are capable of carrying out practical programs.

Thus will Italy be able to pursue with security the task, already showing fruits, of reconstruction of the national heritage, which is in her firm and healthy organism, and victoriously overcome the crisis as it appears.

The new Legislature, we have faith, will be equal to this task.

We have the honor, Sire, to submit to your Majesty the decree dissolving the Chamber of Deputies and calling the elections for the 15th of May next.

On April 7 the following royal decree was issued:

According to Article 9 of the Fundamental Law of the Realm; according to the unique text of the political election law endorsed by royal decree, Sept. 2, 1919, the Council of Ministers is heard, and on the proposal of our Minister Secretary of State for the Interior, President of the Council of Ministers, we have decreed and herewith decree:

Article 1—The Chamber of Deputies is dissolved.

Article 2—The electoral colleges are called for the 15th day of May, 1921, for the purpose of electing the number of Deputies assigned to each one.

Article 3—The Senate of the Kingdom and the Chamber of Deputies are convoked for the 8th day of June, 1921.

We command that the present decree, provided with the seal of State, be inserted in the official records of the Kingdom of Italy and sent to each official concerned, to have him observe it and cause it to be observed. Rome, April 7, 1921.

(Signed) VICTOR EMMANUEL.

(Countersigned) GIOLITTI.

Thus passed into history the twenty-fifth Legislature, which, in its feverish existence of seventeen months, performed less necessary work than any of its predecessors, leaving unsolved the two great problems of the day: A retrenchment in national finance and co-operation between labor and capital, for both of which the Government had offered rational solutions.

It was never a representative Chamber, and it grew less representative as communism grew, waxed strong, and then waned under the hammer blows of the Fascisti and an aroused middle class bent on enforcing the laws. When it came into power in November, 1919, as the successor of the war Chamber grown stale in vague attempts to readjust itself to peace, it discovered that the determining factor would be the increase of the number of Socialist Deputies from 77 to 156, and the presence of 101 Deputies representing the new Popu-

lar or Catholic Party. The Ministerialists were reduced from 318 to 161. These results had been due to the indifference of the middle class. Humiliated by the defeat of Italy's foreign policy at the Paris Peace Conference, and by the indifference of the Nitti Government to vital domestic questions, the middle class had remained away from the polls. Such a Chamber as resulted could not possibly be constructive, and Premier Nitti, after one attempt to make it representative of the heterogeneous mass of politicians sitting at Montecitorio, went out of office in June, 1920, being defeated by the combination of the left wings of both the Socialist and the Catholic Parties.

He was succeeded by the veteran Giolitti, who, supported by a Ministry representative of the most respectable factions in the Chamber, achieved the masterpiece of the Treaty of Rapallo, but found himself unable to cope with the rising tide of Leninism, and so, for a time, practically abdicated as an executive and allowed the laws for the protection of life and property to become a dead letter.

The more rational of the proletariat soon discovered their mistake, but the extremists kept on, and, heedless of the rebuke of a chastened proletariat and a more circum-spect socialism, they attempted a revolution by direct action. It was at this point that the middle class shook off its torpor and began to act. Its weapon was the Fascisti, an organization brought into being by Benito Mussolini, a reformed Socialist, pledged to patriotism and to the purging of the Peninsula of communism, and supported by popular subscription. The emblem of the Fascisti was the Fasces borne by the Lictors of ancient Rome; from this they took their name.

The Government working behind the Fascisti gradually recovered some of its authority. But as its induced strength augmented more and more, the impossibility of legislating with the Twenty-fifth Chamber became more and more evident. The only thing that enabled it to stay in office was the growing fear of the Socialist and Catholic Parties, particularly the former, that a defeat of Giolitti would mean dissolution and a new election.

But Giolitti who, as Minister of the Interior, would supervise a new election, did

not wait to be defeated and so lose that valuable political asset.

The election of the Twenty-sixth Legislature on May 15 next will be the most important since the inauguration of the Third Italy. Aside from the vital questions to be decided connoted in the foregoing address of the Ministry to the King, the electorate, by the addition of new provinces, has raised the number of Deputies from 508 to 535. The 27 new seats are thus distributed:

The two new districts in the Trentino, consisting of Revereto-Trento and Bolzano and their included communes, will have, respectively, 7 and 4; the City and Province of Trieste, 4; the Province of Gorizia-Gradisca, with the territory annexed from the Provinces of Carinzia and Carniola, 5; the Province of Istria, with the constituency of Parenzo, 6; Zara and Lagosta, with the annexed Dalmatian territory, 1.

And aside from these additions the Ministry of the Interior, with the aid of the Prefects of the provinces, has made a new apportionment of the old constituencies, with the idea of breaking up the strongholds of communism and anarchy.

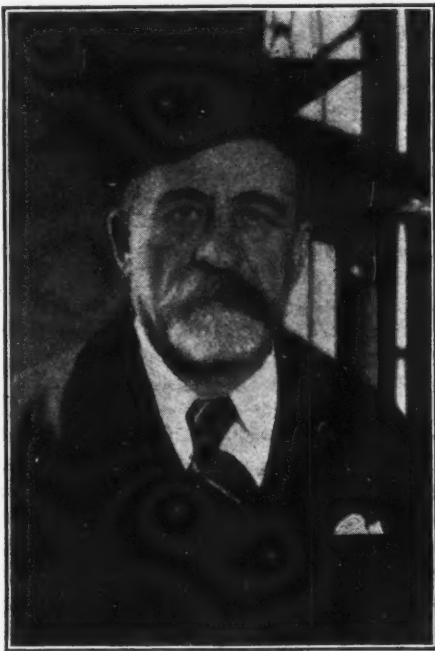
While the electioneering so far has shown very little change in the academic political programs of the Conservative Parties, nearly all have adopted anti-communist resolutions, and many of them the emblem of the Fascisti, the Roman eagle surmounting the Fasces of the Lictors. Even the Socialists have changed their emblem from the hammer crossed with the sickle to the hammer crossed with the pen.

Benito Mussolini is directing the Fascismo, not as a definite political party, but as a super-party pledged to patriotism; in those constituencies where the Ministerialists are already in the majority the Fascismo refrains from acting as such, while concentrating its influence and action in those constituencies where the Ministerialists are in the minority.

Although the Catholic or Popular Party, owing to the extremists among it and their periodic cohesion to communism, has lost caste among those Liberals who voted the Popular ticket at the last election, nevertheless, its excellent organization, the growing prestige of the Vatican, and the advice of the Pope for all Catholics to ally themselves with law and order, are expected to show little, if any, diminution in the

number of its representatives at Montecitorio.

No sooner had the royal decree dissolving the Chamber been issued than seventeen communist and anarchist Deputies, thus deprived of their Parliamentary immu-



(© Harris & Ewing)

ROLANDO RICCI

The new Italian Ambassador to the United States

nity, were arrested, charged with various crimes from arson and murder to treason.

The struggle continued between the Fascisti and the Reds, particularly in the industrial cities of the north, as usual the Fascisti waiting for some overt act to be committed—an attack on public or private property, an assault upon some carabinieri or soldier—when they would solemnly execute the local head of the obnoxious organization and destroy its meeting place. Then, in their turn, the communists would call a strike in revenge, which, in many cases, proved abortive on account of the growing timidity of the strikers and public resentment.

On March 23 a terrible thing happened at the Diana Theatre of Milan. In the midst of the evening's performance before a crowded auditorium a bomb was exploded

which killed 31 persons and injured over 100. While the police were busy making an investigation the Fascisti acted on their own evidence and in their usual way. In Milan and neighboring towns not only the meeting places of communists and anarchists were destroyed, but their newspaper offices met a similar fate. Some of the alleged delinquents, run down by the Fascisti, were turned over to the police; some, concerning whose guilt there appeared to be no doubt, were dealt with in another manner. The arrests made by the police numbered over 100 by April 1; there is no record of those apprehended by the Fascisti.

On April 10 Palo Boselli was made a Senator for life, and the next day Luigi Luzzatti was honored in a similar manner. Both are former Premiers, the first born at Savona, in Liguria, in 1838, and the second of Jewish parents, at Venice, in 1841. When both entered Parliament in 1870, Luzzatti already had a European reputation as a political economist, and was later to hold portfolios in several famous Ministries, besides being President of the Council. He last held office under Nitti a year ago. Boselli has had a similar, although less, distinguished career. He is principally remembered as being the head of the second war Cabinet, from June 19, 1916, till October, 1917, which covered one of the most difficult and glorious periods of Italian national life and prefaced one of the most disastrous—Caporetto.

On April 1 General Count Cadorna's book, "The War on the Italian Front," made its appearance. It is a detailed account of Italy's preparations for the war, and the development of the tactical and strategic plans until after Caporetto. Much of the book is taken up by developing the argument that had the Allies accepted the premise that the war could have been won on the Italian front, there would have been no Caporetto, and the sequence of the German and Austrian surrenders would have been inverted. Although differing from those military critics who believe that the war should have been won where it was won, the book gives a mass of confirmatory evidence to those other critics who continue to believe with Napoleon and Cadorna that the quickest way to reach Berlin is via Klagenfurt and Vienna.

THE NEW SPANISH CABINET

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

ON March 13, five days after the assassination of Premier Dato, the veteran Conservative leader Antonio Maura having failed to form a Cabinet, his followers combined with those of the late Señor Dato and of Juan de la Cierva, and designated Manuel Allende-Salazar as President of the Council, without portfolio. The following slate was accepted by the King:

Premier	Señor Allende-Salazar
Foreign Affairs.....	Marquis Lema
Interior	Señor Bugallal
War	Viscount Eza
Marine	Señor Prida
Finance	Señor Arguelles
Public Works.....	Señor Lacierva
Public Instruction....	Señor Aparicio
Labor	Count Elizarraga
Justice	Señor Pinies

This is a Coalition-Conservative Ministry. Aside from the supporters of Maura and de la Cierva, numbering 44, it can count on those of the late Premier, numbering 127, also on the Catalanian Regionalists, numbering 17, making with the personal factions a total of 232 against a Liberal Opposition led by Count Romanones with 93.

At the Socialist Congress, held on April 14 in Madrid, the communists withdrew from the Socialist Party after a resolution to adhere to the Third International and to the twenty-one Articles of Lenin had been rejected by a vote of 8,808 to 6,025. Thus the Spanish Socialists break up into two parties, as was the case in Italy and Germany, with the communists in the minority, and not, as in the case of Switzerland and France, with the communists technically in the majority.

The convincing influence in Madrid was the revelations made by Señor de las Rios and Señor Anguino, who had studied Bolshevism in Russia, combined with the advice of the leader Largo Caballero, a member of the Madrid City Council, who ap-

pears to be a Spaniard first and a Socialist afterward.

PORTUGAL—The new Portuguese Ministry under the Premiership of Bernardo Machado has not encountered any serious opposition in Parliament, as it has the support of the Popular Party, of the Democrats, the Dissident Democrats and the Re-constituent Democrats, and so may be regarded as a sort of Democratic coalition.

The new Premier is not only opposed to amnesty but is even said to have fabricated a new Royalist plot, with the result of many arrests. He takes the view that the political prisoners should be kept in the Penitenciaria "for their own good, to cleanse their souls from guilt." Even the murderer of President Paes, José Julio Costa, after two and a half years, has not yet been brought to trial. Attempts have been made to place Costa in the Lisbon Bombarda Insane Asylum. Its director, however, points out that, as he was not mad when the crime was committed, and has not gone mad since, his admittance would be contrary to the rules of the asylum, incorporated in the decree of May 11, 1911.

According to the *Diario de Noticias*, a Republican paper of Lisbon, some of the newly arrested men were apprehended merely because of their Royalist opinions. Those who were ready to conspire, it declared, had not the consent of any leader of any Royalist Party. This situation was said to apply also to the followers of the late President Paes.

The body of an unknown Portuguese soldier to be buried in the Pantheon in Lisbon was sent to Cape Town from Lorenzo Marquez on March 16. It had been brought from Nyassaland, where the soldier was killed in the war.

GREECE ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE THE SEVRES TREATY

Story of the campaign in Asia Minor and of the Greek Army's endeavors to force Mustafa Kemal to conform to the will of the Allies—Overwhelming political and military difficulties in the way

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

ON March 24 the Greek Army in Asia Minor began its campaign to execute single-handed the Treaty of Sèvres. It did this under the most trying moral and material handicaps. The country's repudiation of Venizelos and its restoration of King Constantine last November had seriously injured its moral status, not only in the chancelleries of the Allies, but also among their peoples. Taking into account this situation and ignoring the fact that one of the intentions of the Treaty had been to remove from the power of the Turk his capacity to injure subject races, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan at the Near East Conference held at London, from Feb. 21 to March 12, had offered to modify the Treaty at the expense of Greece by restoring certain political and territorial powers to Turkey of which the Treaty had deprived her.

Nor was this all. While these proposals, with certain modifications, were accepted by both the Constantinople and the Angora delegates—the former representing the artificial administration of the Sultan, created and maintained by the Allies under the direction of Great Britain, but which, nevertheless, had declined to ratify the Treaty, and the latter the Nationalists under Mustafa Kemal Pasha—both France and Italy entered into separate engagements with the Kemalists which would prevent Greece, even if victorious over Kemal, from enjoying the fruits of that victory, even though they were limited to the original terms of the Treaty. [See text of pacts, Page 203.]

The military prospect was also discouraging. The campaign was to be fought over the ground which was included in the Italian zone of commercial exploitation, as set down in the treaty; on account of the new accord reached by the Governments of

Constantinople and Angora and with themselves, the Entente powers made no objections to the troops of the Sultan joining the colors of Kemal on the north, while on the south the Franco-Kemalist pact released 30,000 Nationalists, who hastened to join Kemal's left wing. In London and in Paris, respectively, General Foch and General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner in Syria, had urged all military arguments upon M. Gounaris, then the Greek Minister of War, to abandon the enterprise, which could end only in failure, with an unnecessary sacrifice of Greek lives and treasure. In Smyrna itself General Papoulas had succeeded the veteran General Paraskevopoulos as Commander-in-Chief, and with the latter had been retired those other Venizelos officers whose experience had made possible the Greek victories over the Kemalists in June, 1920. Finally, although the reports from Papoulas's General Staff praised the Greek morale and disparaged that of the Turks, reason and a grasp of the circumstances involved seemed to point to the opposite as the truth. In spite of all these handicaps, however, Greece ignored the advice of the Entente, and, remembering only the centuries of Turkish atrocities which the Treaty of Sèvres was intended to end, began her campaign.

The proposals for a modification of the treaty handed the Turkish and Greek delegations at London were published in a British communiqué on March 12. Though the Greeks rejected them in toto, as we already know, the only objection that the Turks found to them was the stipulation of a Greek garrison in the town of Smyrna. According to the official statement, these proposals are to the following effect:

The Allies would be prepared to facilitate the admission of Turkey to the League of Nations on condition that they have proof

of Turkey's readiness to execute the Treaty as now modified.

They would be prepared to withdraw from the Treaty the menace at present suspended over Turkey of expulsion from Constantinople in certain contingencies.

They would be prepared to concede to Turkey the Chairmanship of the Straits Commission, on which Turkey should, moreover, have two votes instead of one as hitherto proposed.

The Allies would admit Turkish membership of the commission to prepare the scheme of judicial reform to replace the Capitulations.

THE TURKISH FORCES.—The Allies are prepared to admit the increase of the Turkish forces to 30,000 special elements and 45,000 gendarmerie. The latter would be distributed in agreement between the Turkish Government and the Interallied Commission. The proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers admitted in the gendarmerie will be modified in a sense more favorable to Turkish desires, and the number of foreign officers will likewise be reduced and distributed in agreement between the Turkish Government and the Interallied Commission, which might likewise be able to consent to some extension of the number and nature of military schools. An extension of the periods specified for demobilization, reduction of armaments, &c., would also be accepted.

THE DARDANELLES AND BOSPORUS.—Further, in regard to the Straits, the Allies have in mind considerably to reduce the demilitarized zone, which would be limited:—

- (1) To the Peninsula of Gallipoli and the Marmora coast up to Rodosto;
- (2) On the Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles, from Penedos to Karabigha;
- (3) On the two shores of the Bosphorus to a depth of 20 or 25 kilometers [12½ or 16 miles];

(4) To the islands commanding the Dardanelles, in the Aegean and the Marmora.

CONSTANTINOPLE—The Allies might also consent to the rapid evacuation of Constantinople, of the Ismid Peninsula, and to limit the allied occupation to Gallipoli and Chanak.

They would also in these circumstances assent to the maintenance by Turkey of troops in Constantinople and to a Turkish right of free passage between Asia and Europe in the demilitarized zone of the Bosphorus.

TURKISH NAVAL FORCES.—The Allies might also be prepared to consider the possibility of giving to Turkey more satisfaction in the matter of the strength of her naval forces.

They would further be prepared to withdraw certain stipulations of the armistice still in force and the provisions restricting Turkey's freedom to send officers abroad.

FINANCIAL CONCESSIONS.—In the Financial Chapter the Allies are prepared to

make substantial concessions in the sense desired by Turkey.

The Financial Commission would be placed under the Honorary Presidency of the Turkish Finance Minister, and Turkey would participate in the Financial Commission by a delegate with a vote on all questions affecting the internal finances of Turkey and a consultative voice in those affecting more specially the financial interests of the Allies. The Turkish Parliament would have the right to modify the budget prepared in agreement between the Minister of Finance and the Financial Commission, but if these modifications were such as to disturb financial equilibrium the budget would return for approval to the commission.

The Ottoman Government would regain its liberty in regard to the grant of concessions. The Minister of Finance shall, however, examine and decide in agreement with the Financial Commission whether the contracts are in conformity with the interests of the Ottoman Treasury.

The suppression of foreign post offices might also be considered on certain conditions.

Certain modifications in the definition of "nationals of the Allied Powers" might also be contemplated.

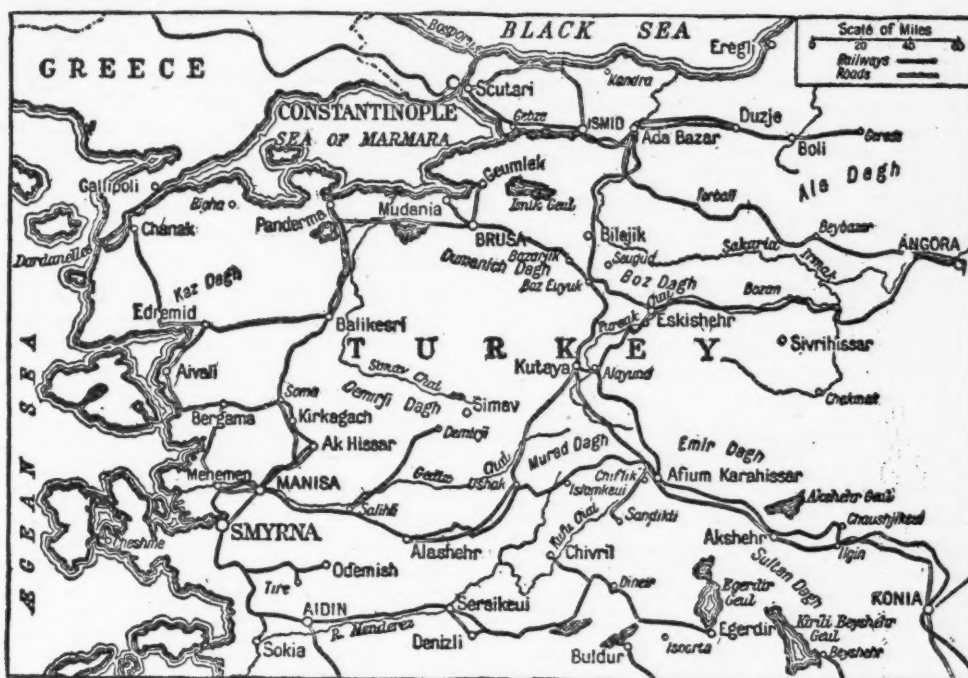
KURDISTAN.—In regard to Kurdistan, the Allies would be prepared to consider a modification of the Treaty in a sense in conformity with the existing facts of the situation, on condition of facilities for local autonomies and the adequate protection of Kurdish and Assyro-Chaldean interests.

ARMENIA.—In regard to Armenia, the present stipulations might be adapted on condition of Turkey recognizing the rights of Turkish Armenians to a national home on the eastern frontiers of Turkey in Asia and agreeing to accept the decision of a commission, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, to examine on the spot the question of the territory equitably to be transferred for this purpose to Armenia.

SMYRNA.—In regard to Smyrna, the Allies would be ready to propose an equitable compromise with a view to ending the present unhappy state of hostilities and ensuring the return of peace. The region called the Vilayet of Smyrna would remain under Turkish sovereignty.

A Greek force would be maintained in Smyrna town, but in the rest of the Sanjak order would be maintained by a gendarmerie, with Allied officers and recruited in proportion to the numbers and distribution of the population as reported by an Interallied Commission. The same proportional arrangement, equally according to the report of the commission, would apply to the administration.

A Christian Governor would be appointed by the League of Nations and assisted by an elective assembly and an elective council. The Governor would be responsible for payments to the Turkish Government of an-



SCENE OF THE GREEK-TURKISH CAMPAIGN

On March 24, when the Greek offensive began, the Greek lines ran north and south, from east of Brusa to Ushak, and hence southwest to Alashehr, or Alasekin (Philadelphia), with concentration of troops at these places; the Turkish Nationalist troops were grouped, north and south, from Gelveh to Denizli, via Eskişehir and Afium Karahissar, just west of, and protecting, the Bagdad railway.

nual sums expanding with the prosperity of the province.

This arrangement would in five years be open to review on the demand of either party by the League of Nations.

The secret treaty made by France with the Kemalists was signed at London on March 9 by M. Briand, the French Premier, and Bekir Sami Bey, the delegate of the Angora Government. So far as could be ascertained up to April 14, it has not yet been signed by representatives of the Sultan, as the latter insist on an increase of the Turkish army. This demand, if accepted, would induce Bulgaria, with much more justice, inasmuch as she has scrupulously observed the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, to do the same. The document, it will be observed, is not in the nature of a simple armistice convention, as was at first announced, but rather a comprehensive, though preliminary, peace treaty, and is actually stated in the document itself to be preliminary to a final and more general treaty, to all intents and purposes taking

the place of the Treaty of Sévres, at least as far as the French clauses go.

The text of this secret treaty, and a summary of that concluded by Italy on March 12, will be found on Pages 203-5.

THE GREEK OFFENSIVE

In a decree dated March 20, King Constantine called under the colors three classes of reserves and addressed the Greek people as follows:

The efforts made to pacify the East within the limits established by an agreement having international authority have been constantly obstructed by the refusal of the organizations of Anatolia. These organizations, by perpetuating a parlous situation, have ruptured the imperative decisions imposed by a just conception of right and of civilization, and by the ceaseless sacrifices of Hellenism and its indefeasible national rights.

Though we were hoping that peace would be re-established without further shedding of blood, a new attempt was made to reverse the order of things established by the Treaty of Sévres, as is proved by military move-

ments and by the concentration of troops against our front.

These manoeuvres make it necessary to reinforce our troops in order to protect our population exposed to the violence of savage bands and also to obtain definitive peace in the East, an aim which Greece pursues in common with her great allies.

Confident of the patriotism and heroism of the Greeks, I would appeal to the sentiment within them to reinforce the troops charged with imposing peace.

On the opening day of the offensive, March 23-24, General Papoulas had 130,000 men in line on a 120-mile front extending from east of Brusa south and a little beyond Ushak. The enemy lay between this front and the Anatolian part of the Bagdad Railway, from Geiveh south, via Eskishehr and Afium Karahissar (the Black Castle of Opium) to Denizli. At first the enemy numbered 60,000; then about April 1 he was reinforced by the Fifteenth and the Third Army Corps, under Kiazim Kara Bekir, coming from the Transcaucasian front and numbering from 15,000 to 20,000 men.

The enemy was divided into three armies. The northern army for the defense of both Geiveh and Eskishehr was under the command of Ismet Pasha and Refid Pasha, and was made up of the Twenty-fourth, Eleventh, First, Fourth and Sixty-first Divisions. The middle army, under Nar-ed-Din Pasha, for the defense of Afium Karahissar and Ushak, comprised the Twenty-third, Eighth and Fifty-seventh Divisions and the Twelfth, Fourteenth and Eighteenth Brigades. On the left of this army south to Denizli was the Cilicia Army Corps, consisting of the Forty-first Division, reinforced by the Second and Fifth Divisions, all under Sellah Eddin Bey.

The plan of the Greeks, as revealed by their manoeuvres, was to defeat the enemy's right and left wing, make a feint at Eskishehr with a sufficient covering force to hold the spur of the Anatolian Railway, which runs 120 miles east of the Nationalist capital of Angora, and then to direct a formidable attack on Afium Karahissar with the idea of driving a wedge between the enemy's second and third army and occupying the Bagdad Railway.

By March 31 the Greeks had done these things, and General Papoulas dispatched a message to Athens stating that the first part of the plan for defeating the Turkish Nationalists had been accomplished and

that it remained only to advance on Angora. In the five days following, however, in spite of the contradictory dispatches received from Athens and Constantinople, it became evident that the situation had been completely reversed: The Kemalists had at least retaken both Eskishehr and Afium Karahissar, had re-established themselves on the Bagdad Railway, and were seriously threatening the Greek left wing between Ismid and Geiveh and the right wing between Afium Karahissar and Ushak. By April 8 the Greek left wing had retired on Mount Olympus, where it was threatened with isolation, while the rest of the line had fallen back on an average of twenty-five miles west of the railroad.

On April 14 a dispatch from Athens announced that a Nationalist drive composed of 30,000 men, led in person by Mustapha Kemal, had been repulsed on the Afium Karahissar sectors with the loss of 6,000 prisoners.

Proof that the Greek Government intends to continue the war until a definite decision is reached was apparently shown by the statement officially made in Athens on April 14 that the army in the field had been reinforced to 200,000 men, and that the officers, adjutants and cavalry reserves of the classes of 1901 to 1913, inclusive, had been called to the colors. The falseness of one Constantinople dispatch is shown from the fact that on the very day that it announced the death of King Constantine's brother, Prince Andrew, on the battlefield, his Royal Highness was in Athens preparing to sail for Smyrna. It was then expected that the Crown Prince would return from his honeymoon in Paris and take command of the navy, which was engaged in preventing Kemal from being reinforced from the European side of the Straits. On the other hand the Allies would not permit Greek detachments to cross the Dardanelles from the Thracian shore to Mudania, the port of Brusa.

On April 8 M. Kalogeropoulos resigned as Premier, for it was the majority of Demetrios Gounaris in the Bulé which was responsible for the renewal of hostilities, and a revolt of the political factions enabled Gounaris himself to assume the active direction of the Government, though, of course, under the orders of the King. So Gounaris left the War Ministry and became Premier,

with the portfolio of Justice, while M. Theotakis exchanged that portfolio for War, and George P. Baltazzis became Minister of Foreign Affairs. MM. Tertiris and Cariales also joined the Ministry but without designated portfolios. The remaining portfolios were distributed as follows:

Minister of Agriculture—JOHN RHALLIS.
Minister of Marine—M. MAVROMICHAILIS.

Minister of Communications—M. TSALDARIS.

Minister of Finance—M. PROTORAPADAKIS.

Minister of Interior—M. STAIS.

Minister of Public Instruction—THEODORE ZAIMIS.

On March 28 Greek wounded began to arrive in Athens, and at once the papers began to print stories of Turkish atrocities. One stated that the Greek Bishop of Adalia had been arrested and carried off in chains by the Kemalists, under the eyes of the Italians, who made no effort to rescue him. Both the Venizelist and the anti-Venizelist press supported the Government in its war policy and were unanimous in considering

that on Greece has devolved the task of settling the question between Turks and Christians in Asia Minor.

On March 25, Mme. Aspasia Manos, the morganatic widow of King Alexander, gave birth to a posthumous child. It was a daughter. Had it been a son, a serious dynastic problem as to succession might have arisen.

On March 19 General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner in Syria, arrived in Constantinople, and the next day made a statement to the press. He warned the Turks that France's sympathies were subordinated to her alliance with the British, "sealed by blood on the field of battle." He also pointed out that the treaty just completed between Angora and Moscow might "seriously interfere with the fulfillment of the Franco-Turkish agreement, which would secure great advantages to Turkey."

On March 28 the British Commander-in-Chief at Constantinople, Sir Charles Hardington, issued a proclamation declaring British neutrality in regard to the Turko-Hellenic operations. This was made necessary by the fact that the Greek Eleventh Division was guarding the left flank of the British army at Ismid. The British withdrew to a base nearer the Bosphorus, while their places were taken by fresh troops from Athens. On the same day, negotiations were opened for an exchange of prisoners between the British and the Kemalists.

On March 27 it was announced that the French Government would no longer feed the 45,000 survivors of General Wrangel's army who had been interned in the old British camps on Gallipoli, the reason being that General Wrangel's officers at Constantinople wished the formations to remain intact, while the French wished to transport the men where work could be found for them abroad.

Bekir Sami Bey, the head of the Nationalist delegation at the London Near East Conference, reached Ineboli, the port of Angora, on April 14. He came on an Italian cruiser, and brought with him for ratification by the "Grand Parliament," as the Nationalists call the Kemalist "rump," the separate treaties with France and Italy.

On March 16 the Turkish Nationalist delegates at Moscow signed a treaty "establishing fraternal relations between the two



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MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA
Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish
Nationalist Army

countries," which, according to the French Foreign Office, are to be developed from the following four points:

1. The Russians are to recognize Constantinople as the capital of Turkey;
2. Both Russians and Turks demand an international agreement wherein all States bordering the areas in question shall be represented at a conference for organizing the régime of the Dardanelles and the Black Sea;
3. The Turks shall abandon Batum, giving the port to Georgia, and they shall recognize the autonomy of Georgia;
4. Armenia shall disappear both as a territorial and a projected political entity, and shall be divided among Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

In reply to a telegram sent by the Papal Secretary of State in the name of Pope Benedict XV. to Angora, praying that the Nationalists respect the lives and property of Christians in Asia Minor, Mustapha Kemal assured the Holy Father early in

April that "the safety and welfare of the inhabitants of this country, irrespective of race and religion, is the supreme duty commanded by my humanitarian sentiments, as well as by the Moslem religion."

After keeping him four months in Angoria, Kemal released Izzet Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior in the Constantinople Government, and sent him back to Stamboul, where he arrived on March 19. Izzet is an anti-Bolshevist. On being interrogated by the Sultan, he said that Kemal had told him (Izzet) that he was only playing with Lenin, as Lenin was playing with other statesmen, and that, as soon as the Entente powers had changed their attitude toward Turkey and a formal reconciliation had taken place between Angora and Constantinople, Lenin would find out how much the treaty signed at Moscow on March 16 was worth.

BULGARIA AND THE TURKISH TREATY

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

THE disappointment, and even resentment, felt by Bulgaria over the decision of the Allies to modify the Turkish Treaty was frankly expressed by the Sofia press, which drew a comparison between Bulgaria's correct attitude in observing that treaty and the Treaty of Neuilly, a compliance which has met with no reward, and the generous concessions made Turkey because she revolted against the severe terms imposed on her at Sèvres. This discontent more or less colored Bulgarian public opinion during the first half of March, and may account for the "speeding up" of the Government's policies, due not to any intention of emulating Turkey, but to the desire of creating a stronger and more centralized State, ready for any eventuality. The resentment felt, however, was considerably modified by published interviews with Prince Borghese, the Italian member of the Interallied Commission, which was created to aid Bulgaria in executing the Neuilly Treaty. The Prince is known to be anti-Jugoslav, and his expressions of Italian friendship for Bulgaria have had a tranquilizing effect.

The project of a "Green International," conceived and developed by the peasant Premier, M. Stambolisky, has had the effect of diverting the compulsory labor law in the direction of agriculture, and also of inspiring a revolution in education, which should ultimately benefit the farmer in the pursuit of his calling. The scheme has taken the form of a bill, introduced by M. Omartchevsky. Among the Balkan States, the record of Bulgaria for literacy is good. Education is nominally obligatory for both sexes between the ages of 8 and 12. There are 5,000 free elementary schools, with 9,000 teachers and half a million pupils. The University of Sofia is attended by 3,000 pupils, 30 per cent. of whom are women, and it has ninety professors and lecturers. Between these two extremes, however, the secondary education is not well organized, including as it does nearly five hundred non-Bulgarian schools with 50,000 male and 25,000 female pupils, and showing little co-ordination in method or subjects. It is the plan of M. Omartchevsky to divert the basis of education, now principally classical, into practical chan-

nels, particularly by providing instruction in scientific agriculture and by co-ordinating the non-Bulgarian schools under a common system, irrespective of language. Meanwhile, peasant unions are being organized all over the country on a sort of rural socialistic plan. This is expected to have a pronounced effect on manufacturing and transportation, in which at present the "Red International" chiefly prevails.

On March 20 the report of the special commission organized to inquire into the doings of the Radoslavoff Cabinet, which forced the country into the war on the German side, was made public. It is a volume of 218 pages, and deals with the charges under ten heads. The Cabinet's dealings with Berlin, including the borrowing of money and the engagement to declare war on Serbia, its special engagements with Vienna, its diversion of Bulgarian industry to German aid, and the

military measures it took without consulting Parliament are all shown to have been unconstitutional, and hence treasonable.

The Bulgarian port of Varna on the Black Sea has a Mayor and Municipal Council who were, but are no longer, communists. They conceived the brilliant idea, early in March, of sending a delegation of welcome and friendship to the Bolsheviks at Odessa, called "Lenin's Earthly Paradise." The delegation consisted of five Councilmen and M. Kmet, the Mayor. They reached Odessa. The first day the Reds deprived them of their shoes; on the second, they were made to exchange their warm clothing for filthy rags. No food was given them. On the fifth day they managed to escape on a fishing vessel and returned to Varna. They are said to be much chastened and declare that Bolshevism would hardly do for Bulgaria.

PALESTINE AND THE ZIONISTS

A THREE-FACED campaign has been developing against the British mandate over Palestine and the manner in which it is being executed. First, there is that of the Arabs which is principally confined to the native press, inspired, it is charged, by the old Franco-Syrian colony at Beirut; then there are the objections of the orthodox Jews, who believe that the mandate is not being executed in a practical way, and who object to political Zionism on principle; finally, there are the objections of the "Little Englanders," who believe that the mandate saddles an incubus upon the empire without any advantages.

The Arab press contends that although they have no fault to find with the Jewish immigrants who are now arriving, because they are occupied in manual labor either on the roads or in the fields, they fear the coming of the industrial Jew with foreign capital, who, with this advantage, will exploit the country and so drive out the Arab merchants and manufacturers. A resolution comprising these and other grievances was recently adopted by the Arab Congress at Haifa. This criticism has been answered in two ways: By an address made by Winston Churchill, the British Secretary of

State for the Colonies, in Jerusalem, on March 31, and by a resolution adopted by the influential Beersheba Arabs at about the same time. Mr. Churchill said:

Examine Mr. Balfour's careful words: Palestine to be "a national home," not "the national home," a great difference in meaning. The establishment of a national home does not mean a Jewish Government to dominate the Arabs. Great Britain is the greatest Moslem State in the world, and is well disposed to the Arabs, and cherishes their friendship. I found since my arrival that the ministrations of the officials make no distinction between Jew and Arab. You need not be alarmed for the future. Great Britain has promised a fair chance for the Zionist movement, but the latter will succeed only on its merits.

Above all, there will be respect for the different religions. Though the Arabs are in a large majority in Palestine, though the British Empire has accepted the mandate in the wider sense, Palestine belongs to the whole world, and this City of Jerusalem is almost equally sacred to Moslems, Christians and Jews, and not only to the dwellers in Palestine, but everywhere. Instead of sharing miseries through quarreling, the Palestinians should share blessings through co-operation.

The manifesto of the Beersheba Arabs reads:

We, the Beersheba Arabs, are the most im-

portant Arabs in Palestine, and have been such for many years, and we declare that since the occupation of the country by Great Britain we have enjoyed freedom, and are thankful for its just ruling, a rule which has respected our customs. We beg that the declaration of the Haifa Congress be not listened to, and the Congress itself made to withdraw its statement.

To the criticism of the orthodox Jews, led by Professor Jacob Dehaan, Mr. Churchill replied:

The success of Zionism will depend upon the good it will bestow upon the whole country. I hope that in a few years there will be a greater feeling of well-being and unity among the Palestinians, and that the Arab fears will prove unfounded. I have read your address with interest, and will lay it before the British Cabinet, who will see the case forcibly presented by both sides. I will do my best to assist Sir Herbert Samuel [the British High Commissioner] in the task the British Government have given him.

The third phase of the criticism is based on an analysis of the mandate, and is principally confined to the British Liberal press. In order to demonstrate that the mandate brings no special advantage to the empire, it is shown that Article XVIII. provides that the mandatory must see that there is no discrimination against "the nationals" of any of the States members of the League of Nations, "as compared with those of the mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercises of industries or professions, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft." What is said "to complete the humiliation of the British Empire" is to be found in Article XXIV., which provides that "the mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate."

THE MESOPOTAMIAN OIL CONTROVERSY

THE diplomatic exchanges between London and Washington on account of the oil concessions to Great Britain in Mesopotamia and growing out of Secretary Colby's note to the British Government on Nov. 20, 1920, remonstrating against special privileges being enjoyed by any nation as a result of the war, may briefly be described as follows:

At San Remo, in April, 1920, England and France reviewed their pre-war concessions received from the Rumanian, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Governments for working oil wells in those countries, and decided upon a readjustment, particularly in the Turkish concessions in Mesopotamia, so that the New Mesopotamian Government and not Turkey might reap some benefit therefrom. Accordingly, the interests in this region were pooled—62 per cent. was to go to Great Britain, 18 per cent. to France and the remainder, 20 per cent., to the new Government of Mesopotamia.

The contention of the British Government is that at San Remo a readjustment of concessions received before the war was made by it and France, and that therefore the matter is beyond the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, and hence not open to the criticism made by Washington. In continuing the correspondence dropped by Sec-

retary Colby, Secretary Hughes incorporated with the criticism of the Mesopotamian matter the matter of other arrangements made between the Allies without consultation with the United States. This has complicated the matter in the press reports, but in his unpublished note to the State Department on April 5 Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, isolated the Mesopotamian question, presented its entire history dating back to 1906, and proved that the San Remo arrangement was not based on the result of the war, except in so far as it benefited Mesopotamia and not Turkey—the rest was merely a readjustment of pre-war concessions made to Great Britain and France.

* * *

The Mesopotamian nation will be known as Irak; its ruler will have the title of Emir. A general election for Emir will be held, the chief claimants to the throne being the Naqib of Bagdad and the two sons of King Hussein of Hedjaz, either the deposed Feisal or his brother Abdullah.

* * *

Oscar Heizer, the American Consul at Jerusalem, has forwarded to the State Department a report on his recent journey through the region between the Tigris and

Euphrates. He declares that the manna of the Old Testament is still to be found in Upper Mesopotamia and along the Persian frontier. He says that manna falls in the form of dew during September, October

and November, and lodges upon the leaves of oak trees. Immediately after falling, it hardens and assumes the form of grain, which is gathered in sheets spread under the trees.

PERSIA'S NEW POLICIES

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

THE new Government of Persia, which came into power on Feb. 20 as the result of a coup d'état performed by General Reza Kahn, leader of the Persian Cossacks, in order to prevent the country from surrendering to Bolshevism, issued a message to the Persian people on March 11 which declared that complete order and quiet prevailed at Teheran, that cordial relations were continued with all the powers, and that the following reforms in both internal and external policy would be executed with energy and without delay:

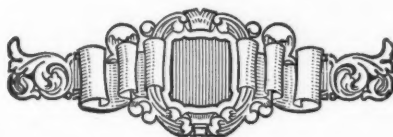
1. Reorganization of the army.
2. Dissolution of Government departments which impose heavy charges on the country, and their reconstruction on the basis of modern administration.
3. Dissolution of the old tribunals and the establishment of courts of justice on a solid basis.
4. Distribution of Government land among the peasantry and elaboration of agrarian laws to improve the condition of the peasants.
5. Financial reforms.
6. Educational reforms.
7. Development of trade.
8. Lowering the cost of living by measures to prevent hoarding and application of anti-luxury laws.

9. Improvement of the means of transport.
10. Municipal reforms.

EXTERNAL POLICY.

1. Maintenance of friendly relations with neighboring and other foreign powers.
2. Suppression of the capitulations [foreign courts for the trial of foreign delinquents] after the establishment of judicial reforms giving guarantees of equal justice to foreign subjects.
3. Revision of certain concessions.
4. Engagement of foreign advisers for the organization of the country.
5. Abrogation of the last Anglo-Persian Agreement.
6. Evacuation of Persia by foreign troops.

The foregoing schedule of policies was conveyed to the Washington Government on April 5, where it was considered that the last two articles of External Policy, if definitely adhered to, would have a far-reaching effect on the Near Eastern problem and would call for the withdrawal of the British forces now in Persia. It would also mean, it was stated in diplomatic circles in Washington, the collapse of the so-called Curzon policy of the British Government with respect to Persia. This opinion is in accord with that of the Wilson Administration, which, as is well known, was not in favor of British predominance in Persia.



POLAND FOUR-SQUARE FOR THE FUTURE

Foundation for the Republic laid on a solid democratic basis in the new Constitution—Peace with Russia finally signed at Riga—Important defensive treaty with France

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

THE greatest event in Poland's history since the year 1772 was consummated on March 17, 1921, when the Constitution of the new republic was ratified by the Diet. For virtually a century and a half the bitterness of the Polish people over the partition of their national territory, and their ultimate subjection to the iron rule of the Czar, remained undiminished. Only those who have traveled in Russian Poland under the Czar can realize the hatred felt by the Poles for their Russian overlords. Their national spirit was never conquered.

On Nov. 11, 1918, the new-born Poland first arose. On Nov. 28 of the same year elections for the Constituent Assembly were ordered. They were held on Jan. 26, 1919, and the Constituent Assembly met on Feb. 10. The committee for the drafting of the new Constitution was elected on Feb. 25, 1919. This committee worked for nearly a year, finally submitting a tentative draft for discussion on Jan. 21, 1920. This draft went through the three readings requisite, and was finally adopted on March 17, 1921. For the Polish Nation these will be the great, epoch-making dates in the restoration of their existence as a free and sovereign people. [The full official text of the Polish Constitution is published elsewhere in these pages.]

Peace between Poland and Soviet Russia was signed in Riga, the capital of Latvia, on March 18, after months of negotiation. The whole treaty will be in CURRENT HISTORY next month. After the signing, M. Domb ski, the chief Polish representative, delivered an address, in which he dwelt on Poland's long subjection to alien rule. After intolerable hardships, he said, Poland had at last gained her independence, and hoped to live on friendly terms with Russia. As for the people of non-Polish stock to be incorporated with Poland under the treaty, he

declared that it would be Poland's aim to give all such elements freedom and the exercise of all civic rights granted to Polish citizens.

The official announcement of peace was made by M. Witos, the Polish Premier, from the stage of the Grand Opera House in Warsaw on the evening of the 18th. The Premier's speech had been intended for delivery before the Diet, but that body had adjourned before the news came over the wires from Riga. The treaty with the Soviets, the Premier declared, would bring peace not only to Poland, but to the whole of Europe. Poland's energy, he said, which for the last seven years had been devoted to war, would now be directed toward peace, and would secure for Poland her proper position in the comity of nations. The Premier's speech was received with a storm of cheers.

Though Poland and Soviet Russia declared themselves satisfied with the result of the peace negotiations, many Russians in exile, especially the charter members of the new Russian "Constituent Assembly," organized a few weeks ago in Paris, expressed their objections to one feature of the treaty in the strongest terms. Soviet Russia, they declared, had bartered away territory which belonged to Russia and which was inhabited by thousands of Russians, whose numbers were far in excess of the Polish landlords. The viewpoint of these Russians was expressed by their spokesman, Alexander Kerensky, former Russian Premier, in the following terms:

Under the provisions of the Riga treaty Poland obtains, in addition to and beyond the Curzon line established by the Peace Conference, fifteen counties of the Provinces of Volhynia, Grodno, Vilna and Minsk in their entirety, and parts of eleven counties in the Provinces of Volhynia, Minsk, Vilna and Vitebsk. The total area of land taken away

from Russia is about 140,000 square kilometers (up to 87,000 square miles). This is big enough to make a whole country in Europe! This territory is inhabited by about 7,000,000 people, of whom not more than 400,000, or only 6 per cent., are Poles. The fact that the Poles constitute only a small minority on this territory was acknowledged by the Polish delegation in Riga.

If we will, furthermore, bear in mind the fact that this 6 per cent. of Poles are mainly the local land barons, the rest of the population belonging to the peasantry, it will be easy to imagine the state of the future relations between the victors and the vanquished. Here, just as in Eastern Galicia, a forcible Polishization by means of so-called "colonization," i. e., through systematic expropriation of the land from the local inhabitants in favor of Polish settlers from Poland proper, will be inaugurated.

The Riga peace is not a peace of compromise, as Poland's official representatives claim, but a peace of oppression and national subjection. Not only is it a source of great trials for Russia, not only is it capable of causing new calamities in Poland, but in this peace there is also concealed a most serious menace to the peace and tranquillity of all Europe, if the Allies should assume the responsibility for it, together with the Poles. The Polish Government is trying in every way to attain that end. Until now, however, all attempts of official Poland to shift the great powers from the Curzon line have failed. Let us hope that Europe will hereafter also refuse to cross this line of wise prudence and clear foresight.

An official statement published in the Polish Bulletin by the American Committee for the Defense of Poland on March 31 gave the following answer:

Contrary to the belief of those who are under the impression that Poland acquired part of the territory rightfully belonging to the Russian Empire, the Soviet Government did not concede, nor did Poland demand, any territory either historically or ethnographically Russian. When the question of Poland's frontiers was up for discussion before the Congress of Vienna in 1915, Kosciuszko, known particularly for his moderation in presenting the case for Poland's territorial claims, advocated frontiers several hundred miles east of the line fixed at Riga. * * *

Until the partitions of Poland, late in the eighteenth century, Russia never enjoyed nor claimed dominion over the territory known variously as White Russia and White Ruthenia, territory which is not now nor ever has been inhabited by Russians. In the

territory ceded to Poland the population percentages are as follows: Poles, 32.2; White Ruthenians, 21.8; Ukrainians, 22.4; Russians, 3.8; Lithuanians, 2.8; Jews, 10.4; others, 3.6.

The White Ruthenians possess their own language, more akin to Polish than to Russian. Lehtonen, the Finnish historian, records that Russian authorities, after the partitions, had to use Polish to make themselves understood by the population. Economically, White Russia differs fundamentally from Russia, never having known the common ownership of land. The landed properties belong to the Poles, as do also the industries, and most of the business and banking institutions.

Consequently, as White Russia has neither historical, ethnographical nor economic claims to White Russia, it may readily be seen that Poland in the acquisition of but a minor portion of the territory thus described, is not only obtaining no Russian territory, but is not even gaining possession over a great expanse of land to which it has far more claims than has Russia.

A third block in the edifice of a strong Polish State was the treaty concluded with France on Feb. 19. No official version of the terms reached by Marshal Pilsudski with the French Government leaders was given out at the time, and it was generally believed that France had declined to enter into a defensive alliance with Poland. Official advices received in Washington on March 27, however, proved that this belief was erroneous, and that in actual fact Poland and France signed such an alliance, pledging themselves to concerted action for defense in case either of the two countries should be attacked without provocation. Mutual approval of policies affecting Continental and Eastern Europe and mutual assistance in economic reconstruction were provided for. Politically and economically, this treaty was of a peculiarly close and intimate nature, calculated to unite the destinies of France and Poland for a long time to come. It was another concrete expression of France's present policy aimed at building up from the smaller nations of Central and Eastern Europe a barrier between Germany and Russia.

The plebiscite in Upper Silesia was held on March 20, and resulted, in the main, in a victory for Germany. [See Germany.]

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Full text of the new fundamental law, adopted March 17, 1921, under which Poland will henceforth conduct its political affairs—Official English translation

AFTER two years' deliberations, the Polish Constituent Assembly at Warsaw finally completed and adopted the new Constitution of the republic on March 17, 1921. It is the result of compromises of many widely different parties and opinions. In its main lines it follows the United States Constitution, but there are also many features modeled on the French system.

The Parliament consists of an Assembly (Sejm) and a Senate, elected by popular vote of both men and women over 21 years old. The executive power is vested in a President and Cabinet. The President will be elected for a term of seven years by a National Assembly composed of the members of the House and the Senate. The President may be a Catholic or a Protestant. He is Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces in time of peace, but in the event of war the responsibility shifts to the Minister of War, who is empowered to appoint the commander of the army.

Catholicism continues to be the leading faith of the country, but equal rights are accorded to all religions. The relations between Church and State will be legally defined by an agreement with the Vatican, which is to be subject to ratification by the Parliament.

The Constitution provides for free, compulsory education in district and municipal schools. Every citizen has the right to the use of his own language, and a special bill ensures the free development of the minority nationalities living in Poland. The different nationalities are permitted to have their schools and teach their own languages under Government supervision and with partial support by the State.

The full text of the Polish Constitution, translated for CURRENT HISTORY by the Polish Bureau of Information, New York, is as follows:

PROLOGUE

In the name of Almighty God!

We, the Polish Nation, thankful to Providence for freeing us from a servitude of a century and a half; remembering gratefully the courage and steadfastness of the self-sacrificing struggle of generations which have unceasingly devoted their best efforts to the cause of independence; taking up the glorious tradition of the memorable Constitution of the Third of May; having in mind the weal of our whole united and independent mother-country, and desiring to establish her independent existence, power, safety and social order on the eternal principles of right and liberty; desirous also of ensuring the development of all her moral and material forces for the good of the whole of resurgent humanity, and of securing to all citizens of the republic, equality, and to Labor, respect, due rights and the special protection of the State—do enact and establish in the Legislative Sejm [Diet or Assembly] of the Republic of Poland, this constitutional law.

SECTION I.—THE REPUBLIC

ARTICLE 1—The Polish State is a republic.

ARTICLE 2—Sovereignty in the Republic of Poland belongs to the nation. The legislative organs of the nation are: in the domain of legislation, the Sejm and the Senate; in the domain of executive power, the President of the republic, jointly with the responsible Ministers; in the domain of the administration of justice, independent courts.

SECTION II.—LEGISLATIVE POWER

ARTICLE 3—The domain of State legislation comprises the establishment of all public and private laws and the manner of their execution.

There can be no statute without the consent of the Sejm, expressed in a manner conforming to standing orders.

A statute voted by the Sejm comes into force at the time determined in the statute itself.

The Republic of Poland, basing its organization on the principle of broad territorial self-government, will delegate to the bodies representing this self-government the proper domain of legislation, especially in administrative, cultural and economic fields, to be defined more fully by statutes of the State.

Ordinances by public authorities, from which result rights or duties of citizens, have binding

force only if issued by the authority of a statute and with a specific reference to the same.

ARTICLE 4—A statute of the State will determine annually the budget of the State for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE 5—The establishment of the numerical strength of the army, and permission for the annual draft of recruits, can be determined only by statute.

ARTICLE 6—The contracting of a State loan, the alienation, exchange or pledging of improvable property of the State, the imposition of taxes and public dues, the determination of customs duties and monopolies, the establishment of the monetary system and the taking over by the State of a financial guarantee can take place only by the authority of a statute.

ARTICLE 7—The Government will present annually, for parliamentary consideration, the accounts of the State for the last year.

ARTICLE 8—The manner of exercising parliamentary control over the debts of the State will be defined by a special statute.

ARTICLE 9—The control of the whole State Administration as regards finances: the examination of the accounts of the State; the annual submission to the Sejm of its motion for the granting or refusing of its absolutorium to the Government, are in the hands of the Supreme Board of Control, which is organized on the basis of collegiality and judicial independence of its members, the latter being removable only by a vote of the Sejm representing a majority of three-fifths of those actually voting. The organization of the Supreme Board of Control and its method of procedure will be defined in detail by a special statute.

The President of the Supreme Board of Control enjoys a position equal to that of a Minister, but is not a member of the Council of Ministers and is directly responsible to the Sejm for the exercise of his office and for the officials who are his subordinates.

ARTICLE 10—Measures can originate either with the Government or with the Sejm. Motions and bills which involve expenditure from



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

M. JOFFE, HEAD OF RUSSIAN DELEGATION (LEFT), AND M. DOMBSKI, HEAD OF POLISH DELEGATION, EXCHANGING FINAL WORDS AFTER SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

the State Treasury must state the manner of their raising and expenditure.

ARTICLE 11—The Sejm is composed of deputies elected for a term of five years, to be counted from the day of the opening of the Sejm, by secret, direct, equal and proportional voting.

ARTICLE 12—The right to vote belongs to every Polish citizen without distinction of sex, who, on the day of the proclamation of the elections, is 21 years of age, is in full possession of civil rights, and is a resident of the electoral district at least from the day preceding the proclamation of the elections in the Journal of Laws. The right to vote can be exercised only in person. Members of the army in active service do not possess the right to vote.

ARTICLE 13—Every citizen having the right to vote is eligible for election to the Sejm, independently of his place of residence, if he is at least 25 years of age, not excepting members of the army in active service.

ARTICLE 14—Citizens convicted of offenses which the Law of Elections may define as involving temporary or permanent loss of the right to vote, eligibility, or of being a Deputy, may not enjoy the electoral right.

ARTICLE 15—Administrative, revenue and judicial officials of the State may not be elected in the districts in which they are performing their official duties. This rule does not apply to officials employed in the Central Departments.

ARTICLE 16—State and self-government employees obtain leaves of absence at the moment of being elected Deputies. This rule does not apply to Ministers, Under Secretaries of State and Professors in academic schools. The years spent in the exercise of the duties of a Deputy are considered as years of service.

ARTICLE 17—A Deputy loses his seat on being appointed to a paid office of the State. This rule does not apply to appointment as Minister, Under Secretary of State or Professor in an academic school.

ARTICLE 18—The Law of Elections will define the manner of electing Deputies to the Sejm.

ARTICLE 19—The validity of unopposed elections is verified by the Sejm. The validity of protested elections is decided upon by the Supreme Court.

ARTICLE 20—The Deputies are representatives of the whole nation and are not bound by any instructions given by the voters.

The Deputies make to the Marshal the following vow in the presence of the Chamber: "I do solemnly vow, as Deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, to work honestly, according to the best of my understanding and in conformity with my conscience, for the sole good of the Polish State as a whole."

ARTICLE 21—Deputies cannot be made responsible, either during their term of office or after it has expired, for their activities in or out of the Sejm appertaining to the exercise of their office as Deputies. For their speeches, utterances and manifestations in the Sejm, Deputies are responsible only to the Sejm. For

violation of the rights of a third person, they may be made to answer before a court of law, if the judicial authority obtains the consent of the Sejm thereto.

Criminal, penal-administrative or disciplinary proceedings instituted against a Deputy before his election may, at the demand of the Sejm, be suspended until the expiration of his term of office.

Prescription in criminal proceedings against a Deputy does not run while he retains his office. While he retains his office, a Deputy may not, without the permission of the Sejm, be made to answer before a criminal court, penal-administrative authority or a disciplinary court, or be deprived of his freedom. If a Deputy is caught in the act of committing a common felony, and if his arrest is necessary to insure the administration of justice, or to avert the consequences of the offense, the court is bound to notify immediately the Marshal of the Sejm in order to obtain the consent of the Sejm to his arrest and to further criminal proceedings. Upon demand of the Marshal, the arrested Deputy must be liberated at once.

ARTICLE 22—A Deputy may not, either in his own name or in the name of another, buy, or acquire the lease of any real property of the State, contract for public supplies or Government works, or obtain from the Government any concessions or other personal benefits.

A Deputy is also debarred from receiving from the Government any decorations other than military.

ARTICLE 23—A deputy may not be the responsible editor of a periodical publication.

ARTICLE 24—The Deputies receive compensation, the amount of which is determined by the standing orders, and are entitled to the free use of the State means of communication for traveling over the whole territory of the republic.

ARTICLE 25—The President of the republic convokes, opens, adjourns and closes the Sejm and Senate. The Sejm must be convoked to assemble on the third Tuesday after election day, and every year, at the latest in October, to an ordinary session for the purpose of voting the budget, the numerical strength and recruiting of the army, and other current affairs.

The President of the republic may, at his own discretion, convoke the Sejm to an extraordinary session at any time, and is bound to do this within two weeks upon request of one-third of the total number of Deputies.

Other cases in which the Sejm assembles in extraordinary session are determined by this Constitution.

An adjournment requires the consent of the Sejm if a previous adjournment has taken place during the same ordinary session, or if the interruption is to last for more than thirty days.

The Sejm, when convoked in October for its ordinary session, may not be closed before the budget has been voted.

ARTICLE 26—The Sejm may be dissolved by its own vote, passed by a majority of two-thirds of those voting. The President of the republic may dissolve the Sejm with the consent of

three-fifths of the statutory number of members of the Senate in the presence of at least one-half of the total membership. In both cases the Senate is automatically dissolved at the same time.

Elections will take place within forty days from the date of dissolution, the precise date to be determined either in the resolution of the Sejm or in the message of the President, on the dissolution of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 27—The Deputies exercise all their rights and duties in person.

ARTICLE 28—The Sejm elects from among its members, the Marshal, his Deputies, the secretaries and committees.

The Marshal and his Deputies continue in office after the dissolution of the Sejm until the new Sejm shall have elected its officers.

ARTICLE 29—The standing rules of the Sejm define the mode and order of the proceedings of the Sejm, the type and number of the committees, the number of Marshals and secretaries, the rights and duties of the Marshal. The employees of the Sejm are appointed by the Marshal, who is responsible to the Sejm for their actions.

ARTICLE 30—The meetings of the Sejm are public. On the motion of the Marshal, of a Government representative, or of thirty Deputies, the Sejm may vote the secrecy of its meetings.

ARTICLE 31—No one may be called to account for a truthful report of an open meeting of the Sejm or a committee of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 32—A vote is valid only when carried by an ordinary majority in the presence of at least one-third of the total statutory number of Deputies, in so far as provisions of this Constitution do not contain other rules.

ARTICLE 33—The Deputies have the right of addressing interpellations to the Government or to individual Ministers, in the manner prescribed by the standing rules. A Minister is bound to answer, within six weeks, orally or in writing, or submit a statement wherein he justifies his failure to give an answer to the point. At the request of those addressing the interpellation, the answer must be communicated to the Sejm. The Sejm may make the answer the subject of debate and vote.

ARTICLE 34—The Sejm may form and appoint, for the investigation of individual cases, extraordinary committees empowered to hear the interested parties, as well as to summon witnesses and experts. The competence and powers of such committees will be determined by the Sejm.

ARTICLE 35—Every bill passed by the Sejm will be submitted to the Senate for consideration. If the Senate, within thirty days from the day on which a passed bill has been delivered to it, does not raise any objections to the bill, the President of the republic will direct the publication of the statute. Upon the motion of the Senate, the President of the republic may direct the publication of the statute before the lapse of the thirty days.

If the Senate decides to alter or reject a bill passed by the Sejm, it must announce this to

the Sejm within the aforesaid thirty days, and must return the bill to the Sejm with the proposed changes within the following thirty days.

If the Sejm votes by an ordinary majority, or by a majority of eleven-twentieths of those voting, the changes proposed by the Senate, the President of the republic will direct the publication of the statute in the wording determined by the second vote of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 36—The Senate is composed of members elected by the individual Voyerodships, by universal, secret, direct, equal and proportional voting. Every Voyerodship forms one constituency, and the number of Senators is equal to one-fourth of the number of members of the Sejm, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The right of electing to the Senate is enjoyed by every elector for the Sejm who, on the day of the proclamation of the elections, is thirty years of age and has on that day been a resident of the electoral district for at least one year; the right of voting is not lost by newly settled colonists who have left their former place of residence, availing themselves of the agrarian reform; neither is that right lost by workmen who have changed their place of residence as a result of changing their place of occupation, or by State officials transferred by their superior authorities. Eligibility is enjoyed by every citizen who has the right of voting for the Senate, not excluding members of the army in active service, provided that citizen is 40 years of age on the day of the proclamation of the elections.

The term of the Senate begins and ends with the term of the Sejm.

No one may be at the same time a member of the Sejm and of the Senate.

ARTICLE 37—The provisions contained in Articles 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 have analagous application to the Senate and to its members, respectively.

ARTICLE 38—No statute may be in opposition to this Constitution or violate its provisions.

SECTION III.—EXECUTIVE POWER

ARTICLE 39—The President of the republic is elected for seven years by the absolute majority of the votes of the Sejm and the Senate united in National Assembly. The National Assembly is convoked by the President of the republic in the last three months of his seven years' term of office. If the convocation has not taken place thirty days before the end of the seven years' term, the Sejm and the Senate, upon the invitation of the Marshal of the Sejm and under his Chairmanship, unite automatically in National Assembly.

ARTICLE 40—Should the President of the republic be unable to perform the duties of his office, or should the office of the President of the republic become vacant through death, resignation, or some other reason, the Marshal of the Sejm will act as his Deputy.

ARTICLE 41—In case the office of the President of the republic becomes vacant, the Sejm and the Senate, upon the invitation of the Marshal of the Sejm and under his Chairmanship,

at once unite automatically in a National Assembly for the purpose of electing a President.

Should the Sejm be dissolved at the moment when the office of President of the republic becomes vacant, the Marshal of the Sejm will direct without delay new elections to the Sejm and the Senate.

ARTICLE 42—If the President of the republic does not perform the duties of his office for three months, the Marshal will without delay convoke the Sejm and submit to its decision the question whether the office of the President of the republic is to be declared vacant.

The decision to declare the office vacant is taken by a majority of three-fifths of the votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of Deputies; that is, the number prescribed by the Law of Elections.

ARTICLE 43—The President of the republic exercises the executive power through Ministers responsible to the Sejm and through officials subordinated to the Ministers.

Every official of the republic must be subordinate to a Minister, who is responsible to the Sejm for the former's actions.

The President of the Council of Ministers countersigns the appointment of officials of the civil Cabinet of the President of the republic, and is responsible for their actions to the Sejm.

ARTICLE 44—The President of the republic signs the statutes jointly with the competent Ministers, and directs the publication of the statutes in the Journal of the Laws of the republic.

The President of the republic has the right to issue, for the purpose of executing the statutes and with reference to the statutory authorization, executive ordinances, directions, orders and prohibitions, and to insure their execution by the use of force.

The Ministers and the authorities subordinate to them have the same right in their respective fields of jurisdiction.

Every governmental act of the President of the republic requires for its validity the signature of the President of the Council of Ministers and of the competent Minister, who, by countersigning the act, assume the responsibility therefor.

ARTICLE 45—The President of the republic appoints and recalls the President of the Council of Ministers; on the latter's motion he appoints and recalls Ministers, and on the motion of the Council of Ministers makes appointments to the civil and military offices reserved by statutes.

ARTICLE 46—The President of the republic is at the same time the supreme head of the armed forces of the State, but he may not exercise the chief command in time of war.

The Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the State, in case of war, is appointed by the President of the republic, on the motion of the Council of Ministers, presented by the Minister of Military Affairs, who is responsible to the Sejm for the acts connected with the command in time of war, as well as for all affairs of military direction.

ARTICLE 47—The right to reprieve and to

mitigate punishment, and to abolish the consequences of criminal conviction in individual cases, belongs to the President of the republic.

The President may not exercise this right in the case of Ministers convicted upon impeachment by the Sejm.

Amnesty may be granted only by statute.

ARTICLE 48—The President of the republic, in foreign relations, receives diplomatic representatives of foreign States and sends diplomatic representatives of the Polish State to foreign States.

ARTICLE 49—The President of the republic makes treaties with other States and brings them to the notice of the Sejm.

Commercial and customs treaties, as well as treaties which impose a permanent financial burden on the State, or contain legal rules binding on the citizens, or change the frontiers of the State, also alliances, require the consent of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 50—The President of the republic may declare war and conclude peace only after obtaining the consent of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 51—The President of the republic is not responsible either to Parliament or at civil law.

For betraying the country, violating the Constitution, or for criminal offenses, the President of the republic may be made responsible only by the Sejm by a vote of a majority of three-fifths in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of Deputies. The cause is heard and the sentence given by the Court of State, according to the rules of a special statute. Immediately upon his impeachment before the Court of State, the President of the republic is suspended from office.

ARTICLE 52—The President of the republic receives a salary according to the rules of a special statute.

ARTICLE 53—The President of the republic may not hold any other office or be a member of the Sejm or the Senate.

ARTICLE 54—Before assuming office the President of the republic takes his oath in the National Assembly, in the following terms:

"I swear to Almighty God, One in the Holy Trinity, and I vow to Thee, Polish nation, that while holding the office of President of the republic I will keep and defend faithfully the laws of the republic and above all the constitutional law; that I will serve devotedly, with all my power, the general good of the nation; that I will avert, watchfully, from the State all evil and danger; that I will guard steadfastly the dignity of the name of Poland; that I will hold justice toward all citizens without distinction as the highest virtue; that I will devote myself undividedly to the duties of office and service. So help me God and the Holy Martyrdom of His Son. Amen"

ARTICLE 55—The Ministers form the Council of Ministers under the Chairmanship of the President of the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE 56—The Council of Ministers bears the joint constitutional and parliamentary responsibility for the general direction of the activities of the Government.

Apart from that, each Minister is individually responsible, in his domain, for his activities in office; that is, as well for their conformity with the Constitution and the other statutes of the State, and for the activities of the subordinate organs, as for the direction of his policies.

ARTICLE 57—Within the same limits, the Ministers are jointly and individually responsible for the governmental acts of the President of the republic.

ARTICLE 58—The parliamentary responsibility of the Ministers is enforced by the Sejm by an ordinary majority. The Council of Ministers or any individual Minister will resign at the request of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 59—The constitutional responsibility of the Ministers and the way of its realization will be determined by a special statute.

The decision to impeach a Minister can be made only in the presence of at least one-half the statutory number of Deputies and by a majority of three-fifths of the votes cast.

The causes are heard and judgment is passed by the Court of State. A Minister cannot evade his constitutional responsibility by resigning his office. Immediately upon his impeachment, the Minister is suspended from office.

ARTICLE 60—The Ministers and officials delegated by them, have the right to take part in the meetings of the Sejm, and to speak out of the turn of those figuring on the list of speakers; they may take part in the vote if they are Deputies.

ARTICLE 61—The Ministers may not hold any other office or participate in the governing or controlling bodies of societies and institutions which work for profit.

ARTICLE 62—Should the office of a Minister be held by a provisory head of the Ministry, he will be subject to all the rules concerning the office of a Ministry.

The President of the Council of Ministers will, in case of need, appoint one of the Ministers his deputy.

ARTICLE 63—A special statute will determine the number, competence, and mutual relation of the Ministers, as well as the competence of the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE 64—The Court of State is composed of the First President of the Supreme Court as Chairman, and of twelve members, eight of whom are elected by the Sejm and four by the Senate from outside their own membership.

To membership in the Court of State are eligible persons who do not hold any State office and are in full possession of civil rights.

The election of the members of the Court of State is carried out by the Sejm and the Senate immediately upon the election of their officers for the whole term of the Sejm.

ARTICLE 65—For administrative purposes, the Polish State will be divided by statute into Voyerodships, districts, and urban and rural communes, which will at the same time be the units of territorial self-government.

The units of self-government may combine into unions in order to accomplish tasks which belong to the domain of self-government.

Such unions may obtain the character of bodies of public law only by special statute.

ARTICLE 66—The administration of the State will be organized on the principle of decentralization, organs of State administration in the individual territorial units being, as far as possible, joined in one official body under one superior, and on the principle that within the limits determined by statutes, citizens elected for this purpose shall participate in the discharge of the duties of such official bodies.

ARTICLE 67—The right of determining affairs belonging to the domain of self-government rests with elected councils. The executive functions of Voyerodship and district self-government rest with organs formed by adding to boards elected by representative bodies, representatives of State administrative authorities, under the Chairmanship of the latter.

ARTICLE 68—A special statute will create, in addition to territorial self-government, economic self-government, for the individual fields of economic life—namely, Chambers of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Arts and Crafts, Hired Labor, and others, united into a Supreme Economic Council of the republic, the collaboration of which with State authorities, in directing economic life and in the field of legislative proposals, will be determined by statutes.

ARTICLE 69—The sources of revenue of the State and of self-government organizations respectively will be strictly delimited by statutes.

ARTICLE 70—The State will exercise supervision over self-government activities through superior self-government boards; such supervision may, however, be partially delegated by statute to administrative courts.

Statutes will determine the cases in which decisions of self-government organs may exceptionally require confirmation by superior self-government organs or by Ministries.

ARTICLE 71—An appeal from decisions of State and self-government organs will be allowed only to one superior body, unless other provisions are made by statutes.

ARTICLE 72—Statutes will put into effect the principle that from penal decisions of administrative authorities, made in the first instance, the parties concerned will have the right to appeal to the competent court.

ARTICLE 73—For the purpose of passing upon the legality of administrative acts in the field of State, as well as of self-government administration, a special statute will create Administrative Courts, basing their organization on the co-operation of (lay) citizens and (professional) Judges, and culminating in a Supreme Administrative Court.

SECTION IV.—JUDICIARY

ARTICLE 74—The courts administer justice in the name of the Republic of Poland.

ARTICLE 75—The organization, jurisdiction and procedure of all courts will be defined by legislation.

ARTICLE 76—The President of the republic appoints the Judges, unless a different provision

is made by statute, but Justices of the Peace are as a rule elected by the population.

Judicial office is accessible only to persons who possess the qualifications required by law.

ARTICLE 77—In the exercise of their judicial office, the Judges are independent and subject only to statutes.

Judicial decisions may not be changed either by the legislative power or by the Executive power.

ARTICLE 78—A Judge may be removed from office, suspended from office, transferred to a different place of office, or pensioned, against his own will, by judicial decision only, and only in cases provided by statute.

This rule does not apply in the case of the transfer of a Judge to a different place, or his pensioning owing to a change in the organization of the courts decided upon by statute.

ARTICLE 79—Judges may not be criminally prosecuted or be deprived of their freedom without the previous consent of the court assigned by statute, unless they are caught in the act, but even in this last case the court may demand that the arrested Judge be freed without delay.

ARTICLE 80—A special statute will define the peculiar position of the Judges, their rights and duties, as well as their compensation.

ARTICLE 81—The courts have not the right to inquire into the validity of duly promulgated statutes.

ARTICLE 82—The hearings before a determining court, as well in civil as in criminal cases, are public, except when statutes provide otherwise.

ARTICLE 83—Courts with juries will be called upon to determine cases of felonies entailing more severe punishment, and cases of political offenses. Statutes will define in detail the jurisdiction of courts with juries, the organization of such courts, and their procedure.

ARTICLE 84—A Supreme Court for judicial causes, civil and criminal, is hereby created.

ARTICLE 85—Special statutes will define the organization of military courts, their jurisdiction, procedure, and the rights and duties of the members of such courts.

ARTICLE 86—A special Competence Court [Tribunal of Conflicts] will be created by a statute to determine conflicts of jurisdiction between the administrative authorities and the courts.

SECTION V.—GENERAL DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 87—A Polish citizen may not be at the same time a citizen of another State.

ARTICLE 88—Polish citizenship is acquired: (a) by birth if the parents are Polish citizens; (b) by naturalization granted by the competent State authority. Special statutes define other rules as to Polish citizenship, its acquisition and loss.

ARTICLE 89—Fidelity to the Republic of Poland is the first duty of a citizen.

ARTICLE 90—Every citizen has the duty of respecting and obeying the Constitution of the State and other valid laws and ordinances of the State and self-government authorities.

ARTICLE 91—All citizens are subject to military service; the character and manner, order and term of service, exemption from such duty, and any duties, contributions or services for military purposes, will be defined by legislation.

ARTICLE 92—It is the duty of all citizens to submit to any public burdens services and duties imposed by virtue of statute.

ARTICLE 93—All citizens are bound to respect legitimate authority and to facilitate the performance of its duties, as well as to perform conscientiously public duties to which they may be appointed by the nation or the proper authority.

ARTICLE 94—It is the duty of citizens to bring up their children as righteous citizens of the mother country, and to secure to them at least elementary education.

This duty will be defined more in detail by a special statute.

ARTICLE 95—The Republic of Poland guarantees on its territory, to all, without distinction of extraction, nationality, language, race or religion, full protection of life, liberty and property.

Foreigners enjoy, on condition of reciprocity, rights equal to those of citizens of the Polish State, and have duties equal to those of such citizens, unless statutes expressly require Polish citizenship.

ARTICLE 96—All citizens are equal before the law. Public offices are accessible in equal measure to all, on conditions prescribed by the law.

The Republic of Poland does not recognize privileges of birth or of estate, or any coats of arms, family or other titles, with the exception of those of learning, office or profession. A Polish citizen may not accept foreign titles or orders without the permission of the President of the republic.

ARTICLE 97—Limitations of personal liberty, especially search of person and arrest, are admissible only in cases prescribed by law, and in the manner defined by statutes, by virtue of an order from judicial authorities.

In case a judicial order cannot be issued immediately, it should be served, at the latest, within forty-eight hours, with a statement of the reasons of the search or arrest.

Arrested persons who have not been served within forty-eight hours with a written statement of the cause of arrest, signed by a judicial authority, regain their freedom at once.

The means of compulsion serving by which the administrative authorities may enforce their orders are determined in statutes.

ARTICLE 98—No one may be deprived of the court to which he is subject by law. Exceptional courts are admissible only in cases determined by statutes, which statutes must have been issued before the offense was committed. A citizen may be prosecuted and punishment inflicted only by virtue of a statute actually in force. Punishment involving physical suffering are not permitted and no one may be subjected to such punishment.

No statute may deprive a citizen of access to the courts for the purpose of demanding reparation for injury or damage.

ARTICLE 99—The Republic of Poland recognizes all property, whether belonging personally to individual citizens or collectively to associations of citizens, institutions, self-government organizations, and the State itself, as one of the most important bases of social organization and legal order, and guarantees to all citizens, institutions and associations protection of their property, permitting only in cases provided by a statute the abolition or limitation of property, whether personal or collective, for reasons of higher utility, against compensation. Only a statute may determine what property—and to what extent, for reasons of public utility—shall form the exclusive property of the State, and in how far rights of citizens and of their legally recognized associations to use freely land, waters, minerals and other treasures of nature, may be subject to limitations for public reasons.

The land, as one of the most important factors of the existence of the nation and the State, may not be the subject of unrestricted transfer (commerce). Statutes will define the right of the State to buy up land against the will of the owners, and to regulate the transfer of land, applying the principle that the agrarian organizations of the Republic of Poland should be based on agricultural units capable of regular production, and forming private property.

ARTICLE 100—The home and hearth of the citizen are inviolable. Infringements of this right by entering the home, searching it and taking papers or movables may, apart from the necessity of executing administrative orders based on a specific statutory authorization, take place only by order of judicial authorities, in the manner and in the cases prescribed by the statute.

ARTICLE 101—Every citizen has the liberty of selecting on the territory of the State his place of residence and abode, to move about and to emigrate, as well as to choose his occupation and profession, and to transport his property.

These rights may be restricted only by statute.

ARTICLE 102—Labor is the main basis of the wealth of the republic, and should remain under the special protection of the State.

Every citizen has the right to State protection for his labor, and in case of lack of work, illness, accident or debility, to the benefits of social insurance which will be determined by a special statute.

The State has the duty of making accessible also moral guidance and religious consolation to citizens under its immediate care in public institutions, such as educational institutions, barracks, hospitals, prisons and charitable homes.

ARTICLE 103—Children without sufficient parental care, neglected with respect to education, have the right to State aid within the limits to be determined by statute.

Parents may not be deprived of authority over their children except by judicial decision.

Special statutes determine the protection of motherhood.

Children under 15 years of age may not be wage earners; neither may women be employed at night, or young laborers be employed in industries detrimental to their health.

Permanent employment of children and young

people of school age for wage earning purposes is forbidden.

ARTICLE 104—Every citizen has the right to express freely his ideas and convictions in so far as he does not thereby violate legal provisions.

ARTICLE 105—Freedom of the press is guaranteed. Censorship of the system of licensing printed matter may not be introduced. Daily papers and other matter printed in the country may not be debarred from the mails nor may their dissemination on the territory of the republic be restricted.

A special statute will define the responsibility for the abuse of this freedom.

ARTICLE 106—The secrecy of letters and other correspondence may be infringed upon only in cases provided by law.

ARTICLE 107—Citizens have the right of presenting individual or collective petitions to all State and self-government representative bodies and public authorities.

ARTICLE 108—Citizens have the right of combining, meeting and forming associations and unions. The exercise of these rights is defined by statutes.

ARTICLE 109—Every citizen has the right of preserving his nationality and developing his mother-tongue and national characteristics.

Special statutes of the State will guarantee to minorities in the Polish State the full and free development of their national characteristics, with the assistance of autonomous minority unions, endowed with the character of public law organizations, within the limits of unions of general self-government.

The State will have in regard to their activity the right of control and of supplementing their financial means in case of need.

ARTICLE 110—Polish citizens belonging to national, religious or linguistic minorities, have the same right as other citizens of founding, supervising and administering at their own expense, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational institutions, and of using freely therein their language, and observing the rules of their religion.

ARTICLE 111—Freedom of conscience and of religion is guaranteed to all citizens. No citizen may suffer a limitation of the rights enjoyed by other citizens, by reason of his religion and religious convictions.

All inhabitants of the Polish State have the right of freely professing their religion in public as well as in private, and of performing the commands of their religion or rite, in so far as this is not contrary to public order or public morality.

ARTICLE 112—Religious freedom may not be used in a way contrary to statutes. No one may evade the performance of public duties by reason of his religious beliefs. No one may be compelled to take part in religious activities or rites unless he is subject to parental or guardian's authority.

ARTICLE 113—Every religious community recognized by the State has the right of organizing collective and public services; it may conduct independently its internal affairs; it may possess and acquire movable and immovable property, administer and dispose of it; it remains

in possession and enjoyment of its endowments and funds, and of religious, educational and charitable institutions. No religious community may, however, be in opposition to the statutes of the State.

ARTICLE 114—The Roman Catholic religion, being the religion of the preponderant majority of the nation, occupies in the State the chief position among enfranchised religions. The Roman Catholic Church governs itself under its own laws. The relation of the State to the Church will be determined on the basis of an agreement with the Apostolic See, which is subject to ratification by the Sejm.

ARTICLE 115—The churches of the religious minorities and other legally organized religious communities govern themselves by their own laws, which the State may not refuse to recognize unless they contain rules contrary to law.

The relation of the State to such churches and religions will be determined from time to time by legislation after an understanding with their legal representatives.

ARTICLE 116—The recognition of a new or hitherto not legally recognized religion may not be refused to religious communities whose institutions' teachings and organizations are not contrary to public order or public morality.

ARTICLE 117—Learned investigations and the publication of their results are free. Every citizen has the right to teach, to found a school or educational institution and to direct it if he complies with the requirements laid down by statute concerning the qualifications of teachers, the safety of the child intrusted to him, and a loyal attitude toward the State. All schools and educational institutions, public as well as private, are subject to supervision by State authorities within the limits prescribed by statutes.

ARTICLE 118—Within the limits of the elementary school, instruction is compulsory for all citizens of the State. A statute will define the period, limits and manner of acquiring such education.

ARTICLE 119—Teaching in State and self-government schools is gratuitous.

The State will insure to pupils who are exceptionally able, but not well-to-do, scholarships for their maintenance in secondary and academic schools.

ARTICLE 120—Instruction in religion is compulsory for all pupils in every educational institution, the curriculum of which includes instruction of youth under 18 years of age, if the institution is maintained wholly or in part by the State, or by self-government bodies. The direction and supervision of religious instruction in schools belongs to the respective religious community, reserving to the State educational authorities the right of supreme supervision.

ARTICLE 121—Every citizen has the right to compensation for damage inflicted upon him by civil or military organs of State authorities, by an official act not in accordance with the right or duties of the service. The State is responsible for the damage, jointly with the guilty organs; action may be brought against the State and against officials, independently of any permission by public authority. Communes and other self-government bodies, as well as their

organs, are responsible in the same manner. Special statutes will define the application of this principle.

ARTICLE 122—The rules as to citizens' rights apply also to persons belonging to the armed force. Special military statutes define exceptions to this principle.

ARTICLE 123—Armed force may be used only by request of a civil authority under strict obedience to statutes, for the purpose of putting down disturbances or of enforcing the execution of legal rules. Exceptions to this principle are admissible only by virtue of statutes on the state of siege and of war.

ARTICLE 124—A temporary suspension of citizens' rights; of personal liberty (Article 97), of inviolability of home and hearth (Article 100), of freedom of the press (Article 105), of secrecy of correspondence (Article 106), of the right of combining, meeting and forming associations (Article 108), may take place for the whole territory of the State or for localities in which it may prove necessary for reasons of public safety.

Such suspension may be directed only by the Council of Ministers, by permission of the President of the republic, during a war or when an outbreak of war threatens, as well as in case of internal disturbances or of widespread conspiracies which bear the character of high treason and threaten the Constitution of the State or the safety of the citizens.

Such a decision of the Council of Ministers, if made while the Sejm is in session, must be immediately submitted to the Sejm for confirmation. If such a decision, to apply on a territory which comprises more than one Voyevodship be issued during an interval between meetings of the Sejm, the Sejm meets automatically within eight days from the publication of the decision in order to take the proper step.

Should the Sejm refuse confirmation, the state of siege immediately loses its binding force. If the Council of Ministers directs a state of siege after the expiration of the term of the Sejm, or after dissolution of the Sejm, the decision of the Government must be submitted to the newly elected Sejm without delay, at its first meeting.

These principles will be defined more in detail by a statute on the state of siege.

A statute on the state of war will define the principles of a temporary suspension of the above enumerated rights of citizens in time of war on the territory affected by war operations.

ARTICLE 125—A change in the Constitution may be voted only in the presence of at least one-half the statutory number of Deputies or Senators respectively, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes.

The motion to change the Constitution must be signed by at least one-fourth of the total statutory number of Deputies and notice of such a motion must be given at least fifteen days in advance.

The second Sejm, which will meet on the basis of this Constitution, may revise this constitutional law by its own vote, taken by a majority of three-fifths in the presence of at least one-half the statutory number of Deputies.

ARTICLE 126—This Constitution has binding

force from the day of its publication, or in so far as the realization of its individual provisions is dependent on the issuing of special statutes on the day of their going into force.

All legal rules and institutions now in force

which do not agree with the rules of this Constitution, will, within a year from the voting of this Constitution, be submitted to the legislative body in order to be brought into harmony with the Constitution by legislation.

CHINA "MUDDLING THROUGH"

Harassed by bankruptcy, famine and civil war, and deadlocked with Japan, the nation still "carries on" and refuses to accept the foreign loans offered by the consortium

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1921]

KIPLING, with India in mind, sang, "East is East, and West is West."

His comparison might well be applied at the present day to China, for that vast empire, with its millions of souls, still manages to "muddle through," despite conditions of demoralization, under which another race less stoical and fatalistic would long ago have succumbed.

Though still split into two nations by the opéra bouffe civil war between the North and the South and with an almost empty treasury, China still holds to her resolution not to treat with Japan over the return of Shantung, and maintains the economic boycott on Japanese goods, which is perhaps more harmful to the Chinese themselves than to the Japanese. The foreign consortium offers them funds, and they prefer to make their loans from Chinese bankers. A state of war exists between Peking and Canton; and yet Envoys and Ambassadors tranquilly interchange visits in all security, and continue endless discussions which seem to lead nowhere. A Chinese garrison is driven out of the capital of Mongolia by a mixed force of Mongolian insurgents and Russian adventurers, and the Tuchuns calmly disregard the Government's orders to retake it or even to organize a punitive expedition, and the Government accepts the situation. The peasants and farmers are robbed and their homes looted by the embattled soldiers, who do everything but fight, and no redress can be obtained. Famine stalks through great provinces, and pestilence rages, and China, as a whole, looks on unmoved. East is east and the great Mongol race, so different from the alert and dangerously active yellow men from across

the strait, continues impassively to go on its ancient way.

And yet, when one studies it, there seems to be a certain logic in the policy which China has been developing. No yielding on Shantung has become a national slogan, and the Chinese Government knows only too well, as a March telegram to the Chinese Minister in Germany showed again, that the opening of any direct negotiations would be dangerous in view of the state of public opinion. Similarly the Government refused to open negotiations with Japan over the occupation of Hunchun and Chientao, on the Korean-Manchurian border, dispatched several thousand troops to the district to maintain order, and repeatedly declared that the presence of Japanese soldiers there was unnecessary. This policy was well advised and effective. It was officially announced from Tokio toward the end of March that the last remaining Japanese forces would be withdrawn on April 1.

As regards the civil war, China's way may be unconventional, and yet perhaps be best adapted to the Chinese character and to the situation that prevails. Actual fighting has virtually ceased. Envoys from Canton and Peking have been admitted to the opposing capital of each section "to talk things over." There is no doubt that many leaders in both Governments are sincerely anxious to bring about a settlement, despite the unyielding attitude of Sun Yat-sen, first Provisional President of China, who remains entrenched in Canton, swearing undying hostility to the Peking Government, which he declares to be corrupt and pro-Japanese.

The revolt of the Mongolians and their

capture of Urga, the capital of Mongolia, in February, was a serious matter for China; the Mongols, who owed their success in driving out the Chinese to the leadership of General Ungern, the associate of General Semenov, crowned the Hutukhtu or "Living Buddha" King of Mongolia on Feb. 25, when the independence of the country was proclaimed. General Ungern had about 500 Russians in his force, about forty Japanese, mostly of the officer class, many Buriats and several thousand Mongols. The Mongols were marching southward about March 18, and had occupied Ude, in the heart of the Gobi desert, sending a wave of alarm into neighboring regions.

Albert Sen, a Chinese telegrapher, who escaped from Urga and reached Peking around March 17, gave a clear and interesting report of the capture of the Mongolian capital. The Chinese garrison, he said, put up a most feeble resistance, though threatened with extermination. The soldiers looted the city before they fled. More than 3,000 of the garrison were slaughtered by the Mongols, who entered the town triumphantly, and were enthusiastically received as liberators. The invaders looted the Chinese shops and banks. When General Ungern arrived, his first act was to hang fifty of the looters. It was also reported that he had ordered the massacre of all Jews and Bolsheviks. Practically all the arms, equipment and stores of the garrison were captured. The wireless station was only slightly damaged.

Financially the Peking Government was at ebb tide, though the Minister of Finance, Mr. Chow Tze-chi, announced in February that the Government had made arrangements to tide over the new year. Large deficits had been met by borrowing on short-term Treasury bonds at high interest. Mr. Chow faced the fact that during the next year the Government must meet liabilities of \$300,000,000, and also vast sums for military and administrative purposes. Assuming that no disbandment of military forces will occur, these two items alone are estimated to total \$450,000,000, bringing the

net total of required expenditure up to \$750,000,000 for the coming fiscal year.

The Government was seeking to raise money through private Chinese bankers, as the foreign bankers represented in the consortium were asking terms which the Chinese Government was unwilling to accept. The Chinese bankers, seeing their opportunity, were bringing great pressure to bear to prevent any foreign loan that is not too big for them to handle themselves. They have organized their strength, and are prepared to shoulder a considerable portion of the Government's debts. A bankers' conference held in Shanghai in December, 1920, showed that the Chinese banks, at least forty of which are now organized on Western lines, realize fully the present situation; they intend, however, to deal with the Government only on strictly business principles, and to oppose by every means the ruinous methods that are getting the country more and more deeply into debt. Resolutions passed by them declared against resort to foreign loans, Treasury bonds or domestic bonds, and especially against the vast expenditure for an unnecessarily large army, which is useless, and worse than useless, "for the tale of mutinies, slaughter and banditry is incessant, and comes from every part of the country." The bankers declared that all these forces should be cut down to a minimum for the maintenance of peace and order. A loan of \$6,000,000 was made on good security for the purchase of railway stock in February, and was easily obtained, whereas another loan of \$4,000,000 for famine relief was obtained from foreign sources only after great haggling with the Legations over the imposition of a surtax on the revenues of the maritime customs.

It was reported on April 10 that China's famine was spreading. The average death rate daily in Honan was 1,000, while deaths in the six northern countries averaged 300 daily. Some 9,000,000 people were utterly destitute, and vast funds were urgently necessary. Charles R. Crane, American Minister to China, in a telegram sent to the State Department, painted an appalling situation. Further large funds were needed to carry the people through to the harvest.